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THE HISTORY

OF

STIRLINGSHIRE.

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PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

The first edition of Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire was published, in 1777, by Messrs. William Creech, Edinburgh, and Thomas Cadell, London. In 1817, the work was revised and brought down to date, by the Rev. William Macgregor Stirling, minister of Port, and re-issued, in two volumes, at the close of the year.

What Stirling did for Nimmo, I have, as succeeding editor, striven to do for Nimmo and Stirling; namely, to perform the duty, with which I engaged, conscientiously, and in as complete a manner as circumstances would permit. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, addressing a meeting in the City Hall, Glasgow, some years ago, observed, "that the land to which he had come, though small, was as full of memories as the heaven is of stars"; and there are certainly few districts in Scotland to which this remark may be more truthfully applied than to Stirlingshire. The county, indeed, is full of interest both to the archæologist

and the historian, but there is so much room for the application of local knowledge, and so much scope for criticism of authorities on the Roman and other antiquities, that in such an attempt as an *exhaustive* history of the county one student can hardly be altogether successful.

My aim, throughout, has been to be accurate, rather than elaborate; and intelligible, rather than profound; and, now that the end is reached, I can only hope that the reader may derive some pleasure at least—and pleasure is profit—from my editorial labour.

R. GILLESPIE.

GLASGOW, *November*, 1880.

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THE HISTORY

OF

STIRLINGSHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE FORTS OF AGRICOLA.

THE county of Stirling, from its situation upon the isthmus between the firths of Clyde and Forth, together with its direct passage from the northern to the southern parts of the island, has been the scene of many memorable transactions. There are indeed few shires in Scotland that can show the site of so many ancient monuments; nor does it yield to any in point of those modern improvements which have led to the advancement of commerce and manufactures. An account of the principal operations and events that have happened here, from the Roman invasion until the present day, may prove interesting alike to the antiquarian and general reader.

The first buildings, regarding the antiquity and original design of which we have any authentic

record, are the *præsidia*, or forts, erected about the close of the first century by Julius Agricola. Tacitus, in his life of that General, informs us, that, in his fourth campaign, he built forts upon the narrow isthmus between the firths of Glota and Bodotria, namely, Clyde and Forth, with an intention to secure his conquests upon the south, and to confine the natives of the country as within another island. These forts appear to have been erected in the same tract where Lollius Urbicus afterwards raised the wall which now goes by the name of Graham's Dyke. No vestiges of such works are to be seen in any other part of that isthmus; and, that these fabrics we are about to mention, were built in a more early period than the wall, is highly probable from the circumstance that the wall does not always run in a straight course, but often leaves more advantageous ground, with no other apparent object than that of coming up to some of them.

The ruins of these *præsidia* are still partially visible along the tract of the wall, and generally at the distance of two miles apart. Little more, however, remains at present to distinguish the spots, where even the largest of them stood, than the vestiges of the outer ditches and ramparts. Still we need not be surprised at finding buildings which were reared up in haste, and only for a temporary use, crumbled into dust, when the devastations of time have often, in a shorter space, demol-

ished the most stately fabrics, which were originally designed for a long duration, and, in the erection of which all the art of architecture was employed. Lucan's prediction of certain capital cities has been literally fulfilled—their ruins even being so far lost that geographers now fail to determine the spot where they stood.

> Gabios, Veiosque, Coramque,
> Pulvere vix tectæ poterunt monstrare ruinæ,
> Albanosque lares, Laurentinosque penates,
> Rus vacuum, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coacta,
> Invitus.
>
> *Pharsalia*, vii. 391.

> The Veian and the Gabian tow'rs shall fall,
> And one promiscuous ruin cover all;
> Nor, after length of years, a stone betray
> The place where once the very ruins lay;
> High Alba's walls, and the Lavinian strand,
> (A lonely desert and an empty land),
> Shall scarce afford, for needful hours of rest,
> A single house to their benighted guest.

Several of those old Roman stations are in the shire of Stirling; and as the castellum, or fort, at Castlecary may be reckoned among the larger sort, so it was one of the best preserved in the whole series. *Castella cara*, the beloved castle—the *Curia Damniorum* of Ptolemy. Thus, have we frequently seen the place described; but others are of opinion that the penult syllable is of Celtic origin, *Caer*, signifying "Hill Fort." Castle,

which forms a mixed etymology, is considered a modern prefix; and in like manner we say, improperly, "the river Avon," which is also a tautology, as Avon signifies "River."

The fort just alluded to occupied a knoll immediately upon the borders of Stirlingshire, which is now the north-east end of the North British Railway viaduct; and this station, from its elevated site, must have commanded not only an extensive, but a most advantageous prospect. The ground itself, which is of a square form, comprehends several acres, and was in the past, as it is now, surrounded with a dyke of stone and mortar. Then, around the outer wall of the castellum, we find a double *vallum;* and here the entry had been by a large causeway intersecting the ditch. Upon the west side is a steep descent into a glen, through which the Red burn runs; while, on the north, lies the field of the freestone quarry that had supplied the fort with its stones. Castlecary has indeed been a place of great interest and benefit to the antiquary. Rarely have excavations been made within its boundaries, but relics of special significance have been got. In 1769, as workmen connected with the Forth and Clyde Canal were employed amongst the ruins in search of stones, an elegant plan of a house, in the style of Pallodio, with a sudorium, or warm bath, attached, was discovered in the south angle. There were the remains of

eight apartments in all; and in one of these were also found a number of stones, standing erect, which plainly bore marks of fire. Their length was about two feet, and they had evidently been designed to support some sort of vessel, under which fire was put. In the middle of the station, where the prætorium stood, other large ruins were likewise observed; but the men, not finding stones for their purpose, soon gave over digging.

Two years later—in August, 1771—when a body of labourers were again at similar work for the walls of the neighbouring canal, various interesting relics were unearthed. Among these were fragments of urns and vases, brazen helmets and shields, together with a silver denarius of Hadrian and of Cæsar Augustus. In a large hollow of the rock, about a hundred quarters of wheat were also got; but whether the grain had been so stored for the use of the Roman garrison, or had been hid there during some war in later times, cannot now be known. A short time ago we saw a portion that had been lifted from the place so recently as 1871, which was not only entire and black, but discoloured at the very core; and such an effect, we think, must have been produced through the action of fire. The Romans, when pressed by an enemy, would naturally endeavour to destroy as much of their grain as they could not remove, with the view of rendering it useless.

Not a single stone of the fort is now to be seen above ground. Its walls are utterly levelled, and its foundations grass-grown and buried beneath several inches of soil. Pity that such national heirlooms had not been placed under proper protection. Even within the last twenty years, a considerable portion of the *castellum* walls has been wilfully razed, and the historical stones carted away for the purposes of steading-buildings and dykes; but it might be a difficult task to convince the utilitarian farmer that such grasping demolition of these real antiquities is something akin to a criminal misdemeanour.

At Bankier (Celtic, *Ban Caer*, "Fair Fort"), which lies about a mile north of Castlecary, Mr. Gordon, author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, observed some ruins of a circular fortification. No vestiges, however, of the building are now discernible, although the conformation of the ground seems to invite its presence. This "castle" stood upon the top of a round hill, and consisted of a ditch nearly 24 feet in breadth, with a rampart about 20 feet high, and 350 feet in circumference. The area, too, had been regularly paved with flat freestones. In the same neighbourhood, Mr. Gordon discovered sundry other ruins, some of which were so extensive as to induce him to think that a town had at one time existed in these parts. On a hill called Forebrae, above the village of Auchincloish, he

speaks of meeting with a very beautiful *castellum*, called Cairnfaal, which had a stone wall round it, 12 feet in height, 16 feet in breadth, and 250 feet in circumference, with an entry due east of 13 feet.

Roughcastle stands two miles eastward of Castlecary, in the midst of a high and barren muir. Though all overgrown with heath, from whence it probably derives the present name (Celtic, *Riach castail*, "Brindled Castle"), yet the form of it, which is square, is quite distinct. Nothing remarkable is to be seen amongst the ruins of this station. It has been surrounded with a double ditch and a wall of earth. Mr. Gordon observed the foundations of a freestone wall; but there is not at present any appearance of stonework about it, except in the middle where the *prætorium* stood, the stones having been carried off to build houses in the neighbourhood. The ramparts here were equal in length to those at Castlecary, though narrower by one-fourth. In a low and marshy piece of ground, on the west of fort, are two or three ditches, running parallel to one another, the design of which is puzzling, unless it was to hold water, which might have been conveyed into them by a small rivulet that runs within a few yards of the place.

Eastward of Roughcastle, no vestiges of any stations are now discernible, though it is not improbable that one is buried in the town of Falkirk

—at least the ordinary distances lead us to suppose that one might have been there, and another not far from Polmont. About half way, however, between Roughcastle and Falkirk, and a quarter of a mile off the line of the wall, are very plain evidences of a strong fortification or camp, which go by the name of Camelon. Buchanan says, that, in his time, this place resembled the ruins of a moderate city, and that the ditches, walls, and streets, were visible. Some remains of the ramparts, which have been exceedingly strong, are still to be seen, as also the causeway or military road which passes through it, and which Buchanan probably took for a street. It is, at this distance of time, impossible to know what the original dimensions of this station have been; for all the ground around it, and even within the ramparts, has been long in constant tillage; but, from the stones and rubbish dug up in different places, there is reason to conclude, that the Roman works here have been of considerable extent. At a good distance from the present remains of the ramparts, stones of Roman workmanship have been found, and many of them with characters, which appeared to be the initials of names. Seventy-five years ago, two, nicely cut and carved, were discovered, and built up in the front of a dwelling-house in the village of Camelon, a little eastward of the old station.

As the old Britons usually distinguished the

places where Roman camps had been, by the name of Caer, that word signifying in their language a fortified place or castle; so a village and farm in this neighbourhood still go by the name of Caer-muirs. According to tradition, the stones of the church, and of other old buildings in the town of Falkirk, were brought from Camelon, the ruins of which are now so far disfigured, as to consist only of rubbish, with a few yards of the earthen aggers that formed the northern and southern ramparts. Sir Robert Sibbald, writing in the early part of last century, speaks of an anchor and various Roman coins which had been discovered here, and describes the vestiges of regular streets, with vaults underneath. But a comparatively recent period afforded a rich supply of the latter relics including an alabaster vase or tazza, the neck of a wine-jar, and several sorts of iron instruments. These were disclosed by the cutting of the Polmont Junction Railway, in 1851, which exposed a drain of remarkable size, built of squared blocks of freestone, and covered with slabs of the same material. About twelve years ago, the task of excavating this drain was heartily taken up by a few local antiquaries, in company with the late Sir James Simpson of Edinburgh. Penetrating as far as was practicable on each side of the railway cutting, they reached strong foundations of walls, two on the south and one on the north side of the line. The points on which they struck were

the corners of the buildings, which were found to rest on a pavement of flagstones bedded in clay. Above these walls and all around was an accumulated mass of *debris* of ruined houses, through which were scattered bones of the ox, sheep, pig, and deer; fragments of pottery, some of which were of Samian ware; handles of amphoræ, one bearing distinct letters; many bricks, and bits of tile flues. A circular disc of bronze, about the size of a florin, attached to a nail, was found in one of the buildings, together with the shell of an oyster, and considerable quantities of charred wood. On a large square brick was the impression of a dog's foot—a stamp which has been noticed in Roman bricks found near Hexham, and in the buried city of Uriconium, near Shrewsbury.

The stones dug up from the ruins of Castlecary and Camelon have been generally of a much smaller size than those which compose the Gothic or more modern buildings. Many of them are of a triangular form, and bear evidence of having been strongly cemented with mortar, in which the strength of the Roman structures seems chiefly to have consisted.

It is not improbable that Agricola set out from the camp at Camelon, when he marched to the passage of the Forth, and the invasion of Caledonia, in his sixth campaign; and we may suppose it to have been also occupied by the Roman

armies in the subsequent expeditions of Severus and Caracalla; for it appears to have been the largest and most commodious of the *castra stativa*, which they possessed upon the south side of that river, as that of Ardoch was upon the north. And, moreover, after their fleet had found the way into the firth, provisions could be brought up the Carron by small craft, and landed within a short distance of this station.

Eighty years ago, a small tumulus resembling a Roman speculatorium, or watch-tower, and much of the same form and dimensions with those upon the wall of Antoninus, stood at the east end of the village of Larbert; but was demolished by the present main road from Stirling which stretches in this direction. This mount, if it was of so high antiquity, might, though situated on the opposite side of the river, be an advanced post, or a sentinel's turret, while the camp lay at Camelon.

These *præsidia*, however, must have been very little occupied by the Romans; for after the departure of Agricola, they abandoned all their conquests in Scotland, and seem for some time to have had very little footing in Britain. Indeed, it would appear that there were no Roman forces in Scotland from that period, except in the southern parts, until the arrival of Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus. Agricola, too, usually led his army into England for winter quarters;

and we can hardly suppose that he left garrisons in his *præsidia*, during the two winters he continued in the island after their erection. Except in the case of three or four, there is not, throughout the whole tract, any appearance of stone buildings, nor of any conveniences for accommodating soldiers in winter. We find no inscriptions upon any of them, apart from those that belong to the reign of Antoninus; and, if they were planted with garrisons after the wall was built in his reign, it must have been only for a short time; for, soon afterwards, the Romans again lost all this part of the island, till the time of Severus, who, after an unsuccessful expedition into Caledonia, found it necessary to relinquish the wall of Antoninus, and fix the boundary of the empire by a new wall in the north of England.

CHAPTER II.

ROMAN MILITARY ROAD.

THOSE high-ways which the Romans made throughout every part of their great empire, may be ranked amongst the chief of their works. If they were not the first who thought on these public conveniences, they gave them more attention than any other nation. When their state was yet in its infancy, and their territories reached no farther than Capua, the censor Appius Claudius rendered himself famous by forming that public road, the Appian way, which is still to be seen in Italy. As their empire enlarged, they never neglected to continue this branch of improvement; and extending their roads with their conquests, they connected the most distant provinces with the metropolis. When we cast our eye on Antonine's Itinerary, or Peutinger's table, and take a view of the public ways, and bye-ways striking off to the several towns and stations, in every province, the face of the globe appears as re-cast anew; and we may safely affirm, that more labour was bestowed upon these roads, than

would have sufficed to re-build and re-embellish the city of Rome, even in the days of its greatest extent and grandeur. We must also observe, that, besides the conveniencies and advantages derived from these roads, another reason contributed not a little to increase their number beyond what was absolutely necessary. By employing their armies in such works, in the time of peace, the Romans prenveted, in a great degree, the bad consequences of military inactivity ; a stroke of policy to which that people were always attentive, as they dreaded idleness in their own troops more than they did an enemy.

In England, the remains of those works are everywhere to be met with, there being few ancient towns in that country which have not a Roman road in their neighbourhood ; and, though we cannot expect them so frequently in Scotland, which lay without the bounds of the provinces, yet here also they are occasionally to be seen, and are the grandest monuments of the Roman rule which remain in the northern parts of the island.

A Roman high-way, nothing inferior to any within provincial Britain, runs far into Scotland. It can be traced with certainty north to the Grampians; and even beyond them, as far as Brechin, vestiges of it are to be observed. Leaving England at the Solway, it passed through Annandale and Clydesdale to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, running parallel to the Annan on to

its source in the heights north of Moffat; and then after falling in with the fountain-head of the Clyde, it seldom departed to any great distance from that river's banks. From the vicinity of Glasgow, it took a direction eastward, across the isthmus, between the firths of Clyde and Forth, clinging to the same tract where the forts of Agricola and the wall of Antoninus stood.

In Stirlingshire, this great paved road has the name of Camelon causeway. It enters upon that shire at Castlecary, passing close by the southern ramparts of the fort; from thence it runs eastward, in as straight a course as the irregularity of the ground would admit, by Dykehouse, Seabegs, Elf-hill, and Roughcastle; and is in several places used as a road even now. Half-a-mile east of Roughcastle, it crosses the wall of Antoninus, in which an opening had been left for its passage. Near the wall its appearance is but faint. Shortly, however, it rises quite entire, and runs northward through some marshy ground and a ploughed field, till it comes up to the ancient station of Camelon, through the midst of which it passes, holding on to the river Carron. Between the wall and Camelon it is now intersected both by the canal, and the public road from Falkirk to Glasgow. From Camelon to the river, no vestige of it is to be discerned, the fields having been in tillage from time immemorial. Neither was any trace of the bridge where it had

crossed the Carron observed till the summer of 1773, when workmen employed to make a reservoir at that very part of the river, dug up several of the foundation-stones; but, whether an arch of stone had been thrown over the Carron, or that the bridge had consisted only of wooden beams, supported by stone pillars, is quite uncertain. After the road had got free of the river, it appeared again upon a rising ground, a little westward of the church of Larbert, and held on in a straight course by Torwood-head, Plean-muir, Upper Bannockburn, Whins of Milton, St. Ninians, and Stirling. When it had reached the latter town, where every vestige of it is lost amidst buildings, enclosures, and cultivated fields, it took a westerly direction to a ford called the Drip, near Craigforth. Whether it had caught a compass round the hill on which Stirling stands; or, passing over it, had descended the sloping path of Ballochgeich, upon the north side of the castle, cannot now be determined. Still there is good reason to believe that the Romans had a station here. Sir Robert Sibbald, as one authority, has preserved an inscription, now obliterated, which he found upon a rock opposite to the old gate of the castle. "In Excv. Agit. Leg. II.;" of which the reading may be, *In excubias agitantes legionis secundæ*—"for the daily and nightly watch of the second legion." Half-a-mile westward of the castle, and not far from a

place called Kildean, very plain traces of this Roman road are discernible at a farm-house, which, together with its offices and yards, is situated upon the very summit of the surrounding lands. The peculiar form, and regular dimensions, together with the straight course, easily distinguish it from other causeways. Nearer to the Drip, too, its foundations have been dug up. The ford had a firm and solid bottom, and, during the summer season, carried little over two feet of water. There was thus no occasion here for a bridge to transport those hardy sons of Rome, whom much more stately rivers did not intimidate from their darling project of subduing the world. From the Drip, the road turned northward by Keir to Dunblane, where it again makes its appearance, holding on to Strathearn. Various vestiges of it are noticed by the statists of the parishes through which it seems to have run. In the moss of Kincardine, a Roman way was discovered, 12 feet broad, and formed by trees laid across each other. In Moss-Flanders, another was found running from south-east to north-west. Many years ago a number of logs of wood in the form of a raft, and squared by the axe, were also got in the same place. And again, on the south side of the Forth, west of the spots just alluded to, a road was discovered exactly similar in breadth and character to that noticed at Kincardine.

As to the form and construction of this military road, great pains must have been taken to render it firm and durable. It consisted of several layers of stone and earth, which, however, seem to have been thrown together just as they came to hand; for the stones are of all dimensions. It is generally about twelve feet in breadth, and its foundations are so deep, that, in the formation of it the Roman labourers seem first to have dug a ditch, which they filled up again with stones and earth, in a careless manner, till they had raised it at least a foot above the natural surface. It always rises in the middle, and slopes towards the edges; and, on each side, especially where the ground is wet, there has been a small ditch or drain, to keep the work dry. The stones of the uppermost layer were generally of so large a size, that, unless always well covered with gravel, it must have prevented the legions from marching either with ease or expedition. Its direction is as straight as the nature of the ground through which it passes would admit; and the track of it is a much shorter road from Falkirk to Stirling, than the present winding high-way.

As the itinerary of Antoninus reaches no farther northward than the firths of Tweed and Solway, we cannot from thence derive any assistance to enable us to determine, whether the different stages and distances were marked out upon the military road in Scotland, with the same

precision as in provincial Britain, and other parts of the empire. It is, however, certain that the Romans had measured, with much exactness, the breadth of the isthmus between the firths of Forth and Clyde. This is evident from the situation of the forts at regular distances, and also from inscriptions upon stones found in sundry parts of "Graham's Dyke," which expressly mention the number of miles executed by the different divisions of the army employed in that work. We may well suppose that a people, whose attention and care descended to the minutest circumstances, did not neglect an exact mensuration of their roads, even to their farthest extremities.

It is a disputed point in the circle of our antiquaries, as to who was the maker of the work under review—Agricola, or Antoninus. Both probably had a connection practically with the scheme. Tacitus mentions no other enterprise in which the army of Agricola were employed during their fourth campaign, except the erection of the *præsidia* across the isthmus; and as they consisted of three legions, besides the auxiliaries, it could be no laborious task to finish both these and the military road in the course of one summer.

In those times, and even much later, the greater part of Stirlingshire was covered with woods, many vestiges of which remain to this day. The

Roman historians often speak of forests which the armies of that people had to cut down, and marshes which they had to drain, or make roads through, in their marches towards Caledonia; and, if the speech which Tacitus puts into the mouth of Galgacus, before the battle at mount Grampius, be genuine, it appears that they employed not only their own soldiers in this work, but compelled, with much rigour, such of the natives as fell into their hands to labour with them; "*Corpora ipsa ac manus, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias conterunt.*"

It must, however, be added that after the wall of Antoninus was built, the military road was carried on eastward to the firth of Forth, where the former terminated. Vestiges of it, in fact, are still discernible in sundry places.

CHAPTER III.

THE WALL OF ANTONINUS.

WE return again to those pre-historic antiquities, scattered over the country, which mark the footsteps of the sagacious and industrious Romans—remains that illustrate their policy and exhibit their arts. Usurpation, being subject to perpetual jealousies and alarms, is obliged to provide for its own defence against those whom it has injured. The Romans adopted various methods to maintain their imperious acquisitions against the attempts which the conquered might make to regain their former possessions. They sometimes raised extensive ramparts of earth and stone in the farthest extremities of their conquests, where nature had made no separation by mountains, rivers, or seas, between their dominions and those nations whom their power was unable to reach, or retain under subjection. With this view, three walls were, at different epochs, cast across the island of Britain.

The first, formed of turf only, was raised about the year 120 by Hadrian, who also ordered works

of the same kind to be constructed, as boundaries and fences to the empire, in other countries. That wall, crossing the North of England, extended from the Solway Firth to the Tyne, and the remains of it are still to be seen in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland.

The second of these walls, consisting also of earth, was erected in the reign of Antoninus Pius, in 140, and lay across the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. A.D. 83 may be considered as the epoch of the first arrival of a Roman fleet in the Forth; Agricola during the same year having, as legate, passed from Carriden to the opposite, or north, shore in quest of the Horestii. By a chain of forts, which were garrisoned by soldiers, he afterwards secured the peninsula mentioned; so that the Roman period —from what may be called the colonization of North Britain to the abdication of our earliest government—must have lasted about 360 years. And though a time came when there was nothing of the Roman in the social life of Britain, it had no sudden termination, but died away into the life of the Saxon, until it was, in language at least, restored in the revival of classical literature. A military road or causeway, referred to in the preceding chapter, accompanied the rampart throughout its whole extent, for the accommodation of the troops who defended it. It ran as directly as it well could from fort to fort,

never leaving the *vallum* above 50 yards at the most.

The third wall was constructed by the Emperor Severus about the year 210. This was the strongest and most-perfect of all those works, having been fenced with stone, and fortified with towers at regular distances. It followed much the same tract with that of Hadrian, and vestiges of it are also yet visible. The inscriptions, too, on the agger in Scotland fall far short of those on the walls in the North of England as to their number; but, notwithstanding the barbarous or palæographic character of their lettering, they excel them in this—that they expressly mention the emperor by whose order and under whose reign the work was done, together with the quantity built at such a part by each legion or vexillation. And the whole of these early Romano-British inscriptions, as far as they have been deciphered, are in Latin; while the words, which run into each other without any intervening space, take the form of rude Roman capitals, generally from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in length.

In our survey of the Wall of Antoninus, we shall strive to give a general view of its ancient line and state; but, although we describe the work from west to east, it does not follow that it was so built. Such a point, in fact, has rarely, if ever, been alluded to either by past or present antiquarians; and a disputed question it must now

remain. The legions which, assisted by the auxiliary cohorts, constructed the wall, were the Second, the favourite of Octavius Cæsar, and called Augusta, with the symbol of a sea-goat; the Sixth, named the Vanquisher, with eagles' heads curiously executed; and the Twentieth (Agricola's old corps), known as the Valiant and Victorious, with the emblem of a wild boar. Each legion, moreover, had a certain section of work assigned to it, generally a stretch of three Roman miles; and the soldiers, as we shall see in the course of our survey, were accustomed to erect at the end of their respective stations slabs with inscriptions recording the number and title of the legion to which they belonged. Most of these slabs are dedicated to the reigning emperor, Antoninus Pius, who was a great favourite with the soldiery.

Few words are necessary with respect to the work itself. It was simply an earthen wall 20 feet high, with a ditch, which generally varied in breadth from 12 to 15 feet. Gordon, however, says that, in some places, the latter measured 40 feet, and in others about 60. The earth which was dug out of the ditch, being thrown upon the south bank, formed the agger, that had also a stratum of stones at its foundation in wet and marshy ground. In sundry parts, too, stones were found built on the outside in the manner of a sunk fence.

Chapelhill, which lies a short distance west from Old Kilpatrick, was, without doubt, the western extremity of the wall; Carriden, on the Forth, being its eastern limit. Its full length would thus be about 39 Roman miles; but in applying the Antonine Itinerary to the English map, we must use 12 Roman for 11 English miles, the Roman mile being 5000 Roman feet, and the English mile 5,280 English feet. 12 Roman miles, of 5000 feet each, consequently make only 11 English and 6 feet:—

1760 yds. × 3 = 5,280 Eng. ft., (1 mile Eng.),
Subtract 4,840 „ (1 „ Roman),

and the difference is 440 English feet less to a Roman mile than to an English. Then, 440 multiplied by 12 = 5,280 feet, which is the English mile. And again, with regard to the forts. If we compute the length of the wall to be about 39 Roman miles, and make 2 miles the mean distance between the stations, then we must conclude that there were probably in all 19 forts, with 18 intervals. How the wall was conducted over the many rivulets that intercept its course, cannot now be known; unless it was by arches, few vestiges of which remain.

According to Dr. Irvine, Historiographer Royal, the remains of a great Roman fort were found at Dumbarton in 1686. Advancing eastward, he states that he discovered those of another, but

smaller, at the castle there; and of a third at the foot of Dunbuck hill. He sets down a fourth at Dunglas; and a fifth at Chapelhill, above the village of Old Kilpatrick. It ought not to be overlooked, that the former shallowness at low water of the Clyde, in this neighbourhood, demanded that the province afterwards called Valentia should be thus protected from incursions. But the wall itself certainly extended no farther than Old Kilpatrick, though the military way may have done so. Here, in 1693, two tabular stones were found, and from the inscriptions they bear appear to have been erected by the Sixth and Twentieth legions of the army, to commemorate the rampart, and to perpetuate the memory of the emperor, Antoninus Pius. On one of the stones is a figure of Victory, with a laurel wreath upon her brow, and an olive branch in her hand. Several earthen vases, together with coins, have also been got at Chapelhill; and from the discovery of certain legionary stones, a fort, it is thought, must have stood near the church of Old Kilpatrick.

In its course eastward, the wall passed on to Duntocher, where a fine Roman stone was dug up about the beginning of last century. The inscription is IMPERATORI ANTONINO AVGVSTO PIO LEGIO SECVNDA AVGVSTA FECIT PER PASSVS TER MILLE DVCENTOS SEPTVAGINTA VNVM—"The second legion (called) Augusta dedicated this stone to the

Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius, having made the wall three miles two hundred and seventy one paces." The stone seems to have been among the first discovered that mentions Antoninus Pius. Buchanan had not known of any such; and it is copied along with another containing Antonine's name, by a distinguished person nearly contemporary with Buchanan, viz. Camden, who says that he had them communicated to him by Servatius Rihelius, a Silesian gentleman who had travelled in Scotland, and seen the one at Earl Mareschal's castle of "Dunotyr," and the other at "Cadir" one of the seats of Stirling of Keir. From those Earls, who had long possessed this elegant stone, it went to the Marischal College about 1725, and was by it, in 1764, with leave of the then Earl Mareschal, given to Glasgow College. Several curious Roman antiquities and medals have also been found here. From Duntocher, the wall cuts through by Castlehill. This fort is not one of the larger sort, having had a castellum at Peel Glen intervening; but it presents the most commanding view of any on the wall, Barhill only excepted. A stone found here, and which was presented in 1694 by Mr. Graham of Douglaston to the University of Glasgow, has on its right side, in *mezzo relievo*, a horseman, with a hasta in his right hand, and a shield in his left. Behind him stands a Victory, holding a crown, and

underneath two Caledonian captives with their hands tied behind their backs. Beside them lies a short dagger, and between them stands a Roman vexillum or two. On the other side is an eagle upon the back of a sea-goat; and under this, and near a vexillum, another captive. The wall leaving Castlehill, and running east, passed on the north side of a little house called the Mosshead of Ledcamrock, ascended Camrock hill, and afterwards took down towards the village of New Kilpatrick. The distance between the last mentioned station and this, is the least interval of any, being only a mile and a quarter. The fort here was in the east part of the village, and of an oblong figure.

After the wall has left New Kilpatrick, it shapes its course nearly east-south-east, and crosses a small rivulet called Ferguston burn. At this point, both wall and ditch are entirely lost through tillage. In ascending the moor, the ditch, however, becomes very conspicuous. Near East Boglair, the wall makes two remarkable turns, fetching a compass in order to avoid some marshy ground. It first inclines to the south in its descent towards that part over against Boglair, and then turns to the north in its ascent from it. At the head of this rising ground it bends its course again southwards, and passes between Temple and Millochin for a direct route, through Summerston, to Bemulie, which

is distant, in a straight line, $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from New Kilpatrick.

Bemulie Fort stands at the west end of the village. Here the ruins of the Roman town or outbuildings are very remarkable, while several subterranean vaults have been found. The west side of the building is still visible, and appears to have had a fourfold rampart and ditch. Two of three stones discovered were built into the walls of Cadder House. The inscription on one of these is within a fine corona or garland, composed of bay-leaves and berries, supported by two Victories, and a double cornucopia below. It bears no more than that the monument was erected by the legio secunda Augusta. Between this and Cadder, however, the wall cannot now be discerned. Any appearance of its vestiges are at least faint and obscure. Having crossed a brook at the latter place, it issued from these grounds near a fine rectangular castellum, and running along the top of the bank, which overlooks the valley of the Kelvin, towards Kirkintilloch, it passes to the southward of the "Peel." Caer-pen-tilloch, which, in the Cambro-British, signifies the fort on the head or end of a hill, was constituted a Burgh of Barony in 1170 by William, King of Scots, in favour of William Cumin, Baron of Lenzie and Lord of Cumbernauld. The so-called "Peel" here must, from the depth of its ditch, have been one of the strongest of the

strongholds belonging to this defensive work. Its fortifications were undoubtedly of extraordinary weight. All vestiges of the building have now disappeared, but the fosse still remains to show its extent and form. It is of an oblong quadrangular shape, measuring 90 yards in length by 80 in breadth. A vast rampart, from 40 to 50 feet in thickness, originally surmounted the present level platform on all sides, having in front the ditch or moat, which was not less than 30 feet in width, with a corresponding depth. About 60 years ago, a legionary stone, measuring 5 feet in length by about 2½ in breadth, was got in this locality. Carvings of eagles' heads, etc., appear at each end of the tablet, and the following inscription in the centre :—

> "IMPERATORI CÆSARI TITO AELIO HADRIANO
> ANTONINO AUGUSTO PIO PATRO PATRIÆ
> VEXILLATIO LEGIONIS SEXTÆ VICTRICIS
> PERFECIT PER MILLE PASSUS."

Another stone, with bulls' heads sculptured in bold relief; a large bar of lead, marked with Roman characters, now, however, illegible; coins of Domitian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Constantine have also been discovered here. In May last (1880), while a number of workmen were engaged excavating for the town drainage works, they dug out, in Cowgate Street, at a spot near to the base of the Roman fort, the

upper portion of a large earthenware vessel, apparently of an antique character. From examination it appears to correspond with the Roman "amphora," a vessel used for preserving wine, oil, fruits, etc., and so called from its usually having a large cast or handle on each side of the neck, whence it was also known as "diota," commonly made of earthenware. The Roman amphora, of which specimens are in the British Museum, contained 48 sectarii, or very nearly 6 gallons. The neck and handles of this latest relic are in perfect preservation, but the under portion is completely gone.

Vestiges of the wall again appear at the east end of Kirkintilloch, following the course of the bank above the Kelvin. They disappear, however, on approaching Auchindavy Fort, which is about 2,970 yards distant from the "Peel." This station has been accompanied with a triple rampart and ditch. The ground on which it stands is marshy, with no descent except a slight declivity to the north. The military way is very visible, passing by the fourth rampart of the fort. In May, 1771, four altars were discovered here, which had lain 9 feet deep in a pit, about 12 feet in circumference at top, and 9 at bottom. At the same time there were also found two large iron sledge hammers, and a gold coin of Trajan, which were purchased for the Advocates' Library at £7 7s. But why should the hammers have

been thus interred by the Romans, who set such a high value upon iron? Nor can that people be supposed to have buried the gold coin, which points to Trajan's reign as the date of this singular inhumation. And, further, had they been anxious to demolish the altars, they might have reduced them to sand with one-fiftieth part of the trouble which was employed in digging a pit and burying them.

The wall, now crossing a rivulet, ascends to the mansion-house of Skirva; and has evidently passed through the gardens. Here, along with other inscriptions and sculptures, a sepulchral monument imperfect, but slightly peculiar in shape, was got some years ago. The name of the person for whom it was erected was Verecundus, who probably died young; and therefore the stone is adorned with a garland. The letters remaining are—

DM

VEREC

which may be read, Dis Manibus Verecundi.

About three furlongs more brings the wall to the Queich, and thence to Barhill, which it also ascends. In taking the hill, the ditch appears even grander than before; and the military way, here unusually near it, is likewise very distinct. The distance between Auchindavy fort and that of Barhill is exactly 2 miles. This hill has, as it

were, two facing summits. The wall and ditch passed over the more northerly one; while the fort was erected a short distance south from the wall, and about a furlong west, on the usual gentle declivity. The praetorium, which was of a similar figure with the fort itself, had within it three rows of ruins, when we saw it last, resembling rampart and ditch. The view from this hill is most extensive. Both the Clyde and the Forth are within sight. On the north side of the north rampart, the ground falls somewhat suddenly, and the descent in that direction is steep. Here a curious altar was found, but which bore no visible inscription on its face; also another with a præfericulum on one side, and a patera on the other. From the same station, part of a pillar has been preserved on which is a legible inscription to the effect that it was erected to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, by a vexillation.

IMPCAES
TAE HADRI
ANTONINO
AVGPI PP
VEXILLATIº VS

We give the reading divested of contractions:—Imperatori Cæsari Tito Aelio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio patri patriæ vexillatio votum solvit.

The bearing of the wall from hence to the next fort at Westerwood, which is distant about $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles, is more to the east. It now enters on a

ridge of rocks, near the bottom of which the ditch is cut, though not very deep, and sometimes strikes through a part of the rocks themselves. The wall even runs along the top of this precipice within 5 or 6 yards of the very brink, and is here very conspicuous. It next passes to the north of Croyhill, where two small centurial stones were found that had been set up, according to their inscriptions, by the *Legio sexta victrix.* Half-a-mile further to the east, it reaches Dullater. In ascending the hill, the ditch and military way are both visible, being at the same time near and parallel to each other. Thus they proceed until the wall comes to Westerwood. This station has been situated on ground level and low, only there is a descent from it on the north side. Here, a remarkable *Priapus* or *fallus* was discovered. Below it is Ex Voto ; and at the top, the letters XAN, which may be read, *decem annorum*, denoting perhaps a recovery from some disease, or birth, for which the stone was erected.

From Westerwood, the wall takes its course again nearly east-north-east, the ditch and military way being about five chains off. Castlecary, the site of the next fort, is 2 miles distant; and a few yards direct north of the railway station the ditch may be seen in a most perfect state. Some century and a half ago, an altar was found in the immediate vicinity with the following inscription :—" Matribus Milites Leg. xxvi. Britton VSLPM." To their

mothers, the soldiers of the 26th legion of the veteran Brittons have heartily erected this sacred monument. These matres, or Deæ matres as they are sometimes written, occur in several descriptions of Britain. Spon speaks of them as deified women who were thought to have the gift of prophecy. The Germans, too, seem to have paid much regard to this sort of women whom they worshipped as goddesses. Ariovistus had them in his camp, and consulted them, as we learn from Cæsar. After their death, they appear to have been worshipped as a sort of genii, or tutelar deities of the places where they resided. Gordon also saw a broken altar here with the letters "HBAT"—Hors Batavorum; and another more entire, on which was inscribed, "Milites Vexillatio III." A fourth was got more recently in a brier-choked thicket adjoining the wall, and which gave good evidence of having been dictated to Sylvanus, the god of the woods. About the same period, a common slab was likewise picked up at the spot referred to, on which was a representation of a Roman archer playing havoc with a herd of deer. It is known that the Romans frequently strengthened their earthen walls with palisadoes, or stakes driven into the ground. If that was done here, the country around, being a forest, could easily furnish materials for the purpose.

From Castlecary, the wall, with mouldering

lines, still runs along a slope of commanding ground, having the Bonny Water in front. Clear of Seabog wood, it passes on to Chapel Hill, where a small castellum stood on the north side of the ditch. According to tradition, it was between this point and the site of an old watch-tower, near Elf Hill, that "Graham" broke through the military curtain—hence the modern, or rather local name of the wall, Graham's Dyke. With respect to this person, we can offer nothing with certainty. It might, possibly, be Grime the nephew of Eugenius. Graham is a surname very numerous, and of great antiquity, in Scotland. A distinct and powerful clan of that name is mentioned, as possessing a considerable territory upon the borders of the two kingdoms, as late as the days of Edward VI. All our historians mention a chief so called, who, in the fifth century, broke through this wall, and made dreadful havoc amongst the Britons, who were now abandoned by their friends the Romans; and, as other conquerors sometimes received names from the countries they had subdued, this renowned warrior is said to have given his to a work which he destroyed. Several of these authors have handed down another transaction, which is as likely to have given rise to the name of Graham's Dyke, though we have never seen it taken notice of by antiquaries in connection with the present subject. In the reign of Malcolm II., near the end of the

tenth century, one Grimus, or Gryme, a relation of the royal family, aspiring to the crown, raised a considerable army to accomplish his design. Malcolm marched at the head of his troops to give him battle. The two armies encamped, in view of each other, upon opposite sides of the Forth, not far from Stirling. An accommodation of a very singular nature was brought about, without any bloodshed, by the influence of Fothadus, bishop of St. Andrews, a man of high repute in both armies on account of his sanctity. The terms were that the kingdom should be divided between Malcolm and Gryme during the life of the latter; that, at his death, the whole should be possessed by Malcolm; and that the wall between the Forth and the Clyde should be the boundary of their respective dominions, Malcolm occupying what lay upon the south of that wall, and Gryme the northern parts.

At "Dick's house," which is distant from Castlecary about two miles, the wall begins its course nearer than before to the east point; and, about a quarter of a mile farther on, crosses a brook called Bonny-mill-dam. Immediately beyond this, the ditch appears very prominent, with the vallum and military way again visible. There also appear, on the south side of the ditch, vestiges of an exploratory turret not unlike, either in shape or dimensions, those on the wall of Severus; and a short way still eastward is a castellum 66

feet square. The wall, continuing, crosses Rowan-tree burn; and five chains more brings us to Roughcastle, which was surrounded with a rampart and double ditch of large extent. Notwithstanding Gordon's opinion and laudatory expressions regarding this fort, some antiquarians imagine that it has only been a kind of appendage or summer encampment to Camelon. In 1843, a stone bearing an inscription and hieroglyphics was found in the property contiguous.

On to Falkirk, the wall in its course inclines rather more to the north, and at intervals continues prominent. Between Tamfourhill and Glenfuir, which lie half a mile above Camelon, its vestiges still retain a striking boldness of character; while a fine fragment of the fosse is also to be seen within the grounds of North Bantaskine, close to the east of the mansion. Crossing the Arnothill, it enters the gardens on the south side of the above town, where a fort of considerable dimensions once stood. About the beginning of the present century, an immense quantity of stones were dug from two of these gardens, with which several walls were built in the neighbourhood. Fire-places were also discovered, still bearing blackened stains of their former servitude; while amid heaps of rubbish were found a number of fire-scarred vessels of a clayey compost, and of greyish colour, about an inch thick, and upwards of a foot broad. There was likewise a vessel of

exceedingly beautiful workmanship, about the size and shape of a common slop-dish. The material was very hard, and resembled red sealing-wax. It bore on the outside the figures of four lions and other hieroglyphics, with the word Nocturna. On one of the stones dug up, the word Fecit was distinctly traced. In another garden a coin was found, having on the obverse the bust of Antoninus, with the legend Antoninus Avg. Pivs. P. P.

As soon as the wall has got clear of the town of Falkirk, it takes to the Callendar estate, where it crosses the north avenue, and then for a considerable distance shows itself in a magnificent basin, richly filled with trees, which add materially to its picturesqueness. Leaving these grounds by the enclosures at the east end, it runs close by the north side of the garden into Laurieston, formerly called Langtown, where there are still many stones of the great military causeway. When the Union Canal was being cut, a Roman granary, or cell, was discovered here, in which was a large quantity of blackish coloured wheat. In a field nearly opposite the kennel, there stood, until somewhere about the beginning of the present century, the remains of an old castellated building, which was supposed to have been intimately connected with the Wall of Antoninus; and even now the site is locally known as "Castletowrie."

From Laurieston, the wall holds on by Mumrills, the site unquestionably of another station; and here, of late years, various relics, in the form of urns and other vessels, have been found. There was also a millstone, about 18 inches in diameter, which consisted of a dark-coloured lava, like that of the millstones of the great quarries of Andernach on the Rhine. This was got lying on a stone that contained the epitaph of a Roman soldier. The wall next touches with some prominence at Beancross, striking through about 25 yards above the toll; then crosses a neighbouring burn for a flat field of some 12 acres, leading to the north-west of Polmont Park garden, where it goes boldly underneath the garden wall, and thence through the lawn eastwards to Polmont Kirk. Here it crosses the public road, traverses the property of Mill Hill, and can be traced with great ease along Windy-edge and the Hill farm-house.

Within a plantation at Inveravon we meet with the ruins of an ancient tower. Its height is about 19 feet, and thickness of wall 5 feet 3 inches. In diameter it measures 13 feet 9 inches. Its first outer wall stands 90 feet from the base; while the distance between the first and second wall is 60 feet. The building is supposed to have been a fort, as it lies on the line of the wall, about 4,400 yards from Laurieston. Eastward of the enclosures of Kinneil—Celtic, *Ceann-aill*, "Head of the

steep bank"—a slight vestige of the ditch is again perceived. No doubt another station stood at or near Kinneil House, which is about 3,400 yards distant from Inneravon. On this estate the foundations of an old Roman bridge are also seen. The mansion, which is situated on the edge of a bank about 60 feet above the level of the sea, has on more occasions than one been exposed to violence. In December 1559, during popular commotions, it was pillaged; in February following, it was burned; and again destroyed by fire in 1570, by a portion of the English army who had invaded Scotland. The natural copsewood of the grounds possesses some rather peculiar plants, such as the Betonica officinalis, and Habenaria albida. There are also, among the rarer flowering plants, Geranium phœum, Listera Nidus-avis, and Arum maculatum.

Near the farm steading of Upper Kinneil, and a little south of the Wall, there was at one time a small tumulus, or cairn, locally known by the name of the Laughing Hill. On its being opened to obtain stones for drains, four stone coffins and four urns were found. The former contained black mould; while the latter, which were full of human bones, were inverted and placed upon flat stones. A coffin and urn similar to these were discovered in the north side of an eminence called Bell's Knowe, immediately above the town of Bo'ness. Beyond Grange no remains of the wall are dis-

cernible, though it is probable that the last, or nineteenth fort, occupied the height behind the kirk of Carriden.

In April 1868, a sculptured slab was found at Bridgeness while a corner was being dug in a clearance formerly made by Mr. Cadell during the erection of iron smelting furnaces. This tablet, which is of freestone, 9 feet long, 2 feet 11 inches broad, and about 9 inches thick, is perhaps the finest specimen of Roman lapidary art yet discovered in Britain. In the centre is an inscription thus read, recording the erection of so many paces of the Wall of Antoninus:—"To the Emperor Cæsar Titus Olius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the Father of his country, the Second Legion [surnamed] Augusta, has made 4,652 paces." On each side is an *alto relievo*—that on the left representing a Roman horseman riding over the vanquished Britons; and that on the right, a sacrificial scene. The discovery of this legionary stone settled a matter of considerable antiquarian importance, viz., the exact terminal point of the wall on the east. The word Carriden, moreover, is derived from two British words, "Caer" and Eden, which signify "the fort on the wing or extremity."

The work we have been surveying seems rather to have been originally designed as a boundary to the Roman dominion, than a defence against enemies. Unless it was always well guarded

with troops, it must have been but a very feeble frontier; nor could it be reckoned any gallant exploit to break through it. If the vanity of the Romans had led them to imagine, that, by castles of mud, and walls of turf, they could confine the Caledonians as within another island, they were afterwards taught, by frequent experience, how much they had been mistaken. Though this frontier was but of a small extent, yet they found it far from being an easy task to defend it. The inroads of the Caledonians into the province are usually mentioned by all the Roman historians who take notice of British affairs, as amongst the troublesome incidents of almost every reign. A people, naturally brave, could not behold in silence the triumphs of usurpation over their liberties and possessions, nor suffer to remain in tranquillity a land-mark, set by the hand of injustice, to exclude them from territories of which they were the rightful owners.

In the reign of Commodus, little more than twenty years after the death of Antoninus, the Caledonians passed the wall, and, after cutting in pieces a Roman general, with the greater part of his army, continued their devastations, till Ulpius Marcellus, a commander of great experience, was sent from Rome against them; who, after much bloodshed, drove them back, and restored the island to tranquillity. That tranquillity, however, was not of long duration: the

Caledonians soon renewed hostilities, and continued to give such trouble, that Severus, when he became master of the empire, found it necessary to appoint a new general, with a great military command, for the sole purpose of watching their motions, and preventing their incursions. Besides the ordinary governor of the province in the southern parts, Virius Lupus was appointed to protect the northern frontier; but, being harassed with the continual inroads of the Caledonians, he found it very difficult to maintain his station, till he had purchased a truce for several years with money. Nor did this secure to him perpetual peace; for the northern nations made a new attack upon the frontier, with a vigour which he found himself unable to withstand, till he had received a reinforcement. He was, therefore, obliged to retire as they advanced. This so incensed Severus, that he resolved upon the entire extirpation of the Caledonians, which he was yet unable to effect; for all his formidable preparations and tedious marches through Caledonia, in which he is said to have lost fifty thousand men, terminated in a peace with that people. After which, finding it so troublesome to defend the boundary of Antoninus, he fixed the limits of the empire by a strong frontier in the North of England. From that time, all that part of Britain now called Scotland seems to have been abandoned by the Romans,

until the reign of Valentinian, when the Caledonians, who then began to be distinguished in history by the new name of Scots, Picts, and Attacots, making a dreadful irruption into the Roman province, Theodosius, a commander of great reputation, was sent against them, who drove them beyond the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and, repairing the forts upon the wall of Antoninus, made it anew the boundary of the empire. The tract of country which by this means was recovered was erected into a fifth British province, and called Valentia. Not long after this, the Roman forces were recalled from Britain and all the extremities of the empire, to defend the great centre, at length attacked by the Goths and other northern nations. This put a final period to the Roman dominion in Britain.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

THERE is another remarkable piece of antiquity—the ancient building that went by the name of Arthur's O'on. Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow about 1560, calls it "Arthur's Huif"; and Gordon speaks of it as "Julius' Hoff." Its site was a few yards to the north-east of the Forge Row, Carron, at the corner of an enclosure about 50 feet square, on the estate of Stenhouse. The destruction of this rare though rude relic of architecture by Sir Michael Bruce, in 1743, for the purpose of repairing a dam-head with the best of its stones, roused the wrath of all antiquarians. Maitland has inserted in his History of Scotland a poem on the demolition of what Dr. Stukely considered a Roman edifice, dedicated to Romulus; and, in a fit of resentment, the latter drew a caricature of Sir Michael carrying off a lapful of stones, with the devil goading him along, which was engraved by the Antiquarian Society of London.

In 1862, we were shown a very tasteful sketch

of the O'on as it appeared immediately before its demolition, and the form it took was that of a beehive. Gordon has given a very good illustration of it in his *Itinerarium.* It was a perfect dome, with a circular orifice at its apex, built in double courses of finely-hewn stones, laid on each other without mortar. Or, as Dr. Stukely says, its shape is not unlike the famous Pantheon at Rome, before the noble portico was added to it by Marcus Agrippa. Still, the building was small, to have been so famous. The perpendicular height, from the bottom to the top of the aperture, was 22 feet; the external circumference at the base, 88 feet; internal circumference, 61¼; external diameter at the base, 28 feet; internal diameter, 19 feet 6 inches; circumference of the aperture, 36 feet 1 inch; diameter of the aperture, 11 feet 6 inches; height of the door from its basis to the top of the arch, 9 feet; breadth of the door at the base, 6 feet 4 inches; height, from the ground to the top of the key-stone of the door, 10 feet 6 inches; breadth of the wall at the base, measuring at the door, 4 feet 3 inches; thickness of the wall where the arch springs, 3 feet 7 inches; and height of the basement on which the building stands, 4 feet 6 inches.

As to the builders of this structure, Nemus, an old monkish writer, argues for the Emperor Carausius; Hector Bœce for Vespasian; Sir

Robert Sibbald for Septimus Severus; and Dr. Stukely for Julius Agricola. If the initial letters J.A.M.P.M.P.T. were really engraved on a stone in this little temple, it may be considered not unlikely that they should bear this reading:—Julius Agricola Magnæ Pietatis Monumentum Posuit Templum.

Antiquarians are also greatly at variance with respect to the purpose which the building was intended to serve. Stuart, in his *Caledonia Romana*, is of opinion that the word O'on may be no other than the Pictish term for a house, or dwelling, as we find that the words Pict-Oon denoted the Picts' dwelling-place, or settlement. The prefix "Arthur," he further holds, may be a corruption of some Attic word. Sir William Bentham, the learned author of the "Gaul and Cimbrii," suggests that the name "Arthur's O'on" is probably derived from the old Gaelic words *Art*, a house, and *Om*, solitary—meaning a retired dwelling. Gordon takes the derivation from *Ard nan Suainhe*—i.e., the high place, or temple of the standards; as Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh, is *Ard nan Saidhe*, the hill of the arrow; and Arthur's Seir, between Ross and Moray, is *Ard nan Seir*, the height from which to launch ships. Dr. Stukely's theory, as to Julius Agricola having been the founder of the building, is perhaps the most reasonable of all; and if this is accepted, we cannot but regard the humble

fabric as a *sacellum*, or little chapel, in which the vexilla, or ensigns of the legion, were kept. That it was never designed for public worship is plain from its dimensions. Gordon adds that it may have been also used as a mausoleum, or depository, for holding within its hollow basement the ashes of some illustrious Roman. But a truce to banter. We now know as much as ever shall be known of this interesting relic—interesting only on the page of history. Nothing is left us of the O'on but the memory of its existence, and the green sloping bank on which it stood. Demolished, too, for the repair of a petty dam-head. "The pity of it, Iago; the pity of it."

Three miles westward upon the north bank of the Carron, stand two beautiful mounds called the hills of Dunipace, which are taken notice of by most of our historians, as monuments of great antiquity. Their whole structure is of earth; but they are not both of the same form and dimensions. The more easterly one is perfectly round, resembling an oven, and about fifty feet in height. The other, at the foundation, is nearly of a triangular shape, but the superstructure is irregular; nor does the height of it bear any proportion to the extent of the base. Buchanan calls the western mound the smaller. His memory here, however, had quite failed him, for there are at least four times the quantity of earth in it than is

in the other. These "hills" are unmistakably not artificial. But in times long past, they may have been put to some military use, as from their form and isolated position they are eminently fitted for fortification. Here and there for miles along the banks of the Carron are many steep gravel knolls, cut out by the action of its waters; and these Dunipace mounds have in all probability been similarly isolated, as here the short but impetuous river, whose upper course is a rapid descent, sweepingly strikes a plain.

The common account given of these, now tree-clad mounds, is, that they were erected as monuments of a peace concluded in that place, between the Romans and the Caledonians, and that their name partakes of the language of both people; *Dun* signifying "Hill" in the ancient language of the country, and *Pax* "Peace" in the language of Rome. The compound word *Dunipace,* according to this etymology, signifies "Hills of Peace." We find, in history, notice taken of three treaties of peace that were, at different periods, concluded between the Romans and Caledonians; the first by Severus, about the year 210; the second soon after, by his son Caracalla; and the third by the usurper Carausius, about the year 286. Others, again, favour the etymology *Duinna-Bais*—which signifies hills, or tumuli, of death—believing the earthen structures sepulchral monuments over the ashes of warriors slain in battle. Tuiams,

similar to those in question, are somewhat numerous throughout the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, in Salisbury Plain; and from the fact of human bones having been discovered in several of such mounds, they are popularly regarded as the graves of ancient Britons.

Dunipace is taken notice of in history, as a place where important national causes have been decided, and that more than once, by great monarchs in person. We find Edward I. of England, at Dunipace upon the 14th of October, 1301, where he signed a warrant to his plenipotentiaries, who were at that time in France, authorising them to consent to a truce with the Scots, as a necessary preliminary towards a peace with their ally, the French King, between whom and Edward an obstinate war had long raged. At the chapel of this place too, Robert Bruce and William Wallace are said to have had a second conference the morning after the battle of Falkirk, which effectually opened the eyes of the former to a just view of his own true interest, and that of his country.

Then in the background lies the Dunipace mansion, which formerly belonged to the Primroses, but who forfeited the estate in 1746. The story, or drama rather, is brief. Government hearing that Primrose, on the occasion of the second battle of Falkirk, had led the Highlanders to the ford across the Carron, seized his property,

and afterwards had him beheaded. Immediately on the back of this unhappy event, the bereaved family located themselves in Edinburgh. After the lapse of a few years, however, they thought of steps for the repossession of the property, and with that view engaged a Mr. Spottiswood, as agent, to purchase it from Government in their behalf. The honest lawyer took the business sharply in hand; but finding the bargain struck a thorough catch, he put down the transaction to his own account, and speedily settled himself as proprietor. The felling of the oak on the estate, we have been assured, was more than sufficient to meet the purchase-bill. Lady Primrose was also an enthusiastic Jacobite. It was she who protected the Miss Macdonald, celebrated for her concern in the escape of Prince Charles Stuart after the battle of Culloden; and so popular became this heroic gentlewoman that eighteen carriages, all belonging to visitors of distinction, have been seen ranked up before her door.

At Torwood lies the Tappock, now so well known in antiquarian circles from the stronghold which was discovered there in 1864. The hill has a gentle sweep towards the valley of the Carron on the south side, and that of the Forth on the north and east; but to the west it presents a bold precipitous front, on which the building stands. The following are its dimensions:—The

area of the inner circle is 33 feet in diameter at the lower part of the wall, and 35 feet in the upper portion. After rising to the height of 8 feet, the regular masonry of the wall retires 1 foot all round the building, and then continues perpendicularly 5 or 6 feet more. The circular bend in the remaining steps of the stair in the wall indicates an upper storey to which it led. The stair is 2 feet 6 inches wide, and the length of the passage leading to it is 11 feet. The wall is 21 feet thick, and the lintels of the door are formed by stones of sufficient size and strength for its support. The inner half of the entrance, which is roofed with large stones reaching from side to side, is oval shaped, the outer half quite straight, and the whole of it is 23 feet. Around the outer side of the walls, upright stones, 4 feet high and 2 feet broad, are inserted at regular intervals to strengthen and bind the masonry. At the distance of 30 feet from the innermost wall, occurs another wall, now only semicircular, the two ends of which terminate on the brink of the precipice; part of it is still 10 feet high and 15 feet broad. Again at the distance of 30 feet outward, another semi-circular wall is at one part about 4 feet high and 10 feet broad. The wall of the central tower, or broch, is a solid mass of stone, and there still remain about 13 feet of its height. The entrance to this stronghold led apparently in a straight line through the three walls

in a north-easterly direction. Within the underground chamber two interesting stones were found, covered with eccentric rings. But there were also got querns, cups, whorls, portions of pottery, and charcoal; an iron hammer, with orange-shaped head; and a hatchet, in form somewhat similar to that in present use.

On the south, and close to the base of the Tappock Hill, there still remains about a mile of the Roman road, leading to the north of Scotland, with its walls and ditches distinctly marked. About two miles westward is a rocky knoll about 100 feet high, on which there are megalithic remains. Here, too, undoubtedly once stood a circular fort, and one of larger dimensions than those of Tappock. The hill, however, on which it stood being of easy ascent, its stones have been more thoroughly removed, and now only very faint and uncertain traces of its walls remain. On the north side of the knoll there is a piece of masonry still very entire. It is a circular chamber descending from near the top of the knoll 12 feet down. It is 10 feet wide at the top, and 6 feet wide at the bottom. A well-built covered way, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, leads out from the bottom of this curious structure, 30 feet of which remains, and 8 feet of its length has the original roof. This "way" has probably led from the fort to the water supply which is near its outer end.

With regard to the date of these circular build-

ings, that is an involved mystery. They lie beyond the province of our earliest British history. They are older than Druidism; older than sun or serpent worship; old as the necessities of primeval man. And it is absurd to connect those upright stones in circle either with the sepulchres or temples of our ancestors. At least, the connection does not necessarily follow from the mere circular form of building. The stability of all walls constructed without cement or mortar demanded that.

Near the parish church of Logie, two miles north from the town of Stirling, are several large stones standing erect, as also some near the church of Alva, which appear to have been fixed there in very ancient times, and were no doubt intended to perpetuate the memory of an important transaction which had happened in those parts. It is well known to have been a custom of the old Scots, to erect large stones in fields of battle, either as memorials of victories, or to preserve the knowledge of the spot in which any of their eminent warriors had fallen. This is often mentioned in the works of Ossian. That bard himself, and Toscar, one of his brothers, were sent by Fingal their father, to raise a stone upon the banks of the stream of Crona, in order to perpetuate the memory of a victory which he had some time before obtained there. Such monuments are still to be seen in almost every shire.

Two stones stand to this day in the field near Stirling, where Randolph, Earl of Murray, and Lord Clifford, the English general, had a sharp rencounter, the evening before the great battle of Bannockburn; and, so late as the battle of Killiecrankie, the Highlanders reared up a large stone on the spot where Claverhouse, their commander, fell. Of what special event the stones at Logie and Alva are monuments, cannot now be determined. On Craigmaddie Moor, in the parish of Baldernock, anciently Cartenbenach, another remarkable antiquity is found. It consists of three long stones of greyish grit, taken from the neighbourhood, and laid from north to south, two of them close to each other below, and one, in the middle, above. The higher is found to be 18 feet long, 11 broad, and 7 thick. Those underneath are somewhat smaller, but cannot easily be measured, as they are considerably sunk in the soil. They are in a plain about 250 yards diameter, surrounded with rising grounds, which form an amphitheatre, and are called "The Auld Wives' Lifts." The tradition connected with this ludicrous name is, that three old women having wagered which should carry the greatest weight, brought hither in their aprons the three stones of which the *Lifts* are constructed, and laid them as they now are. The place appears to have been Druidical, and the ancient Celtic name *Gart-na-Beannachd*, signifying "Field of Bles-

sing," might have originated from this circumstance. The plain exhibits the roots and stocks of such oaks as might have formed the sacred grove. The aged females, according to Tacitus and Pomponius Mela, lived in sisterhoods, devoting their time to the offices of religion; and the tradition would seem to refer to their supposed preternatural power. Camden mentions a Druidical stone in Ireland called "The Lifted Stone"; and some in France are known as "*les Pierres Levées.*" Not far from this spot were two cairns of an elliptical shape, which, however, have been carried away. The largest was 60 yards in length, and 10 yards in breadth. Through the whole length of it were two rows of broad stones set on edge on the ground, and 4 feet asunder. Between the rows the dead were interred, having flagstones laid over them. The heap raised above them was mostly of large stones quarried from the adjoining rock. The other cairn had been more recently laid open and found to be of a similar construction; which, in the intelligent Statist's opinion, is Danish. Some of the stones in the foundation were of considerable size. Among the contents, on opening, were found fragments of human bones, and urns. One of the fragments of the urns is ornamented near the mouth with two hollow grooves; and the diameter of the circle of it is a segment of at least 20 inches. Tradition speaks of a battle with the Danes in the neigh-

bouring moor of Craigmaddy. It is also worthy of note that in 1878 an interesting discovery of ancient British remains was made in this same parish. While excavating for sand, Mr. Mitchell, farmer, Hillend, came upon three jars, or urns, surrounded with charred wood. Two were full of human bones, and the third contained a burned substance. The urns were found 3 feet below the surface, and were placed about a yard apart, bottom up. They are fully 12 inches in diameter, at the widest part, and taper to the top and bottom. They are composed of hard-burned clay of a very coarse consistency, about three quarters of an inch in thickness, the outer surface being almost black, and the inner of a brownish or yellowish colour.

Another ancient stronghold, called the Peel of Carfarran, "Castle of Vexation," and evidently a Roman *castellum*, presents itself in the utmost possible state of preservation, on the north bank of a small rivulet on the north-east side of the parish of Drymen, called the Burn of the Ward. This military work is nearly square; and measures, within the trenches, towards 50 paces either way. It has two ramparts, and one ditch; which, with the ramparts, measures 20 paces across. The circumference of the work is 320 paces. It is about a mile from the hill of Gartmore, which is conceived to be a corruption of the Celtic *Caer-Mor*. There is also on the farm of

Finnich-Tenant in the same parish, a sepulchral *cairn*, about 20 paces long and 10 broad. A row of *Kist-vaens*, or Stone Coffins, seems to form the body of the *tumulus*, and is covered with a heap of large stones, obviously rounded by attrition, and, therefore, brought from some river. The nearest is the Burn of Carnock, distant more than half-a-mile. Some remains of this sort occur in the north-east corner of the parish, a short way from Aberfoyle.

We may now pass to another remarkable antiquity, which, like the last mentioned, has, hitherto, so far as is known, been unnoticed in print—"the Peel of Buchanan," about 200 paces in front of the mansion of His Grace the Duke of Montrose. The Enric had had its course in this direction, though now flowing considerably to the southward. The ditch around this ancient fort was filled by the river, and crossed by a passage, probably a draw-bridge, from the north. By whom it was occupied, we cannot venture to say.

Another antiquity of this class is "the Peel of Gargunnock," the etymology of which, perhaps from its shape, seems to be *Caer-Guineach*, "Sharp, or Conical, Fortress." Its site is 50 or 60 yards east of the rivulet which bears its name, and within 50 yards of the Forth, where the latter takes an acute bend towards the north. The ground is now under crop; but old men

in the neighbourhood remember a considerable number of large stones forming part of a building there, and carried off, from time to time, by the farmers for building. A ditch, south of the Peel, and joining the Burn of Gargunnock, seems to have contributed to the security of a fortress, the use of which is conceived to have been the defence of a ford in the Forth. The "knock," or hill, on which stands the Keir, is a conically-shaped rock of the reddest sandstone, soft and damp; but the ancient builders were too wise to use any of it for their masonry, so they have brought all the stone for their walls down from a stratum of basaltic rock which lies about a mile up the steep mountain side to the south. Although the material of the fort is now almost wholly gone, those walls must have been great, for the bed of a mountain stream which flows on the south side is filled with the large grey boulders of basalt, of which they had been formed.

CHAPTER V.

STIRLING CASTLE.

"GREY Stirling, bulwark of the north"—*Strila*, or *Stryveling*, signifying "Strife," from the contests of which it was the subject and the scene—bears, as is well known, a striking resemblance in its main features to Edinburgh; and, like it, is of very great antiquity as a fortress.

> "Parent of monarchs, nurse of kingly race,
> The lofty palace, from its height, looks down
> On pendant walls, that guard the lower town;
> While royal title gives it noble grace.
> Friendly to all, whatever be their name,
> Inmate or foe, or real friend or feigned.
> Danger to profit yields. How oft (oh shame!)
> Has noble blood her territory stained!
> Hapless in this alone, to none she yields
> The bliss of genial air and fertile fields."

The town is situated upon a hill, which, gradually rising from the east, terminates abruptly in a steep rock of concentric greenstone and columnar basalt, upon the extremity of which the castle is built. There are abundant traces of "the great

ice-sheet" over all the rocks of this district. The castle rock on the ridge to the north of the castle buildings shows such markings very distinctly, the rock being ground into a series of parallel hollows, having the sides in some places grooved and polished, evidently by ice in some form acting from the north-west. To the geologist, this part of the country is especially interesting from the varied phenomena presented by the physical aspects of the strata, in which can be traced clearly the combined action of fire and water at a former period of the world's history. To the unequal denudation, from carboniferous to post-glacial times, of the two great classes of rocks thus formed under igneous and aqueous conditions, we own those peculiar features in the scenery of the district around Stirling which lend it such a charm, and which are characteristic of the trappean tracts of central Scotland where volcanic rocks prevail.

With regard to the castle, no certain account can be given of its first erection. Bœce affirms that Agricola raised fortifications upon its rock. Nor is it improbable that the Romans had a station here, for the necessary preparations in their passing the Forth to invade Caledonia. Their military causeway runs hither from the south; and hence to the north. We have already quoted a Roman inscription, which, in Sir Robert Sibbald's day, was upon a rock near

the castle, and intimates that the second legion held here their daily and nightly watch. Stirling, or Snowdon, as it was formerly, and more poetically called, according to some, is in the Greek, *Ouandouara,* or, in the Latin form, the *Vanduaria* of Ptolemy; though that author names Paisley as entitled to this distinction.

On the death of Kenneth II., in 855, his brother Donald V. ascended the Scottish throne. Historians describe the latter differently; some as valiant and wise, others as utterly wicked. Early in his reign, the kingdom was invaded by two Northumbrian princes, Osbrecht and Ella. Uniting their forces with the Cumbrian Britons, and a number of Picts who upon their expulsion from their native country had taken refuge in England, they advanced to Jedburgh. Here Donald encountered them; and, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, obtained a complete victory. Pushing, however, his advantage no farther than to make himself master of Berwick, he took up his station there in supine security; safe, as he imagined, from an enemy he had so lately vanquished. The Northumbrians, informed of his careless posture, surprised him by a hasty march, dispersed his army and made himself a prisoner. Marching north, they subdued all before them to the Forth and Stirling. The Scots, without either king or army, sued for peace. They obtained it on condition of paying

a large sum for the king's ransom, and yielding up all their dominions south of the Forth to the Northumbrians, and those south of the Clyde, with Dumbarton, to the Cumbrians. The former, taking possession of the territories thus ceded to them, rebuilt Stirling Castle, and planted it with a strong garrison. They threw a stone bridge over the Forth; and, on the top, raised a cross, with the following inscription :—

> "Anglos a Scotis separat crux ista remotis
> Hic armis Bruti: Scoti stant hic cruce tuti"—

thus translated by Bellenden :—

> "I am free marche, as passengers may ken,
> To Scottis, to Britonis, and to Inglismen."

A very extraordinary rendering indeed. It is not even a parody.

Fordun takes no notice of this conquest, nor of Donald's captivity; though he mentions a defeat of the Picts by that monarch. The ancient English historians, too, are silent on it; but speak of two Northumbrian princes, Osbrecht and Ella, who both perished in 866, in an attack upon the city of York, occupied by the Danes. The whole story, as well as the inscription, wears much of a monkish garb. Its authenticity, however, is, in some degree, confirmed by the arms of the town of Stirling, which have a bridge, with a cross as aforesaid, and the last line of the recently quoted distich as a motto around it.

We must not imagine that, in those times, Stirling castle bore any resemblance to a structure, adapted, as the present is, to the use of fire-arms. Its size and form probably resembled those strongholds which, under the feudal constitution, the English and Scottish barons used to erect upon their estates for inhabitation; and which, in those barbarous ages, they found necessary to fortify for their defence, not only against foreign invaders, but their nearest neighbours. Such a Gothic structure is the *Castrum Strivelense* in the arms of the burgh.

This fortress, after it had continued in the possession of the Northumbrian Saxons about twenty years, was, together with the whole country south of the Forth, restored to the Scots, on condition of their assisting the Saxons against their turbulent invaders the Danes.

In the arms of Stirling are two branches of a tree, to represent the *Nemus Strivelense*, or "Forest of Stirling," probably a wing of the Caledonian. Its situation and boundaries are not known. Vestiges of a forest are still discernible for several miles. Banks of natural timber still remain in the Castle Park, at Murray's Wood, and near Nether Bannockburn. Stumps of trees, with much brushwood, are still to be seen in the adjacent fields.

When, near the close of the tenth century, Kenneth III. was informed that the Danes had

invaded his dominions, he appointed Stirling castle the rendezvous of his army, and marched thence to the battle of Luncarty, where he obtained a signal victory over these rovers.

This castle is spoken of as a place of great importance in the twelfth century. In 1174 William the Lion was taken prisoner, in an unsuccessful expedition into England; and, after having been detained a year in captivity, was released, on promising to pay a large ransom, and, as a pledge, delivering into the hands of the English the four principal fortresses of the kingdom—Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick. He promised, besides, to do homage for his whole kingdom. This was the first great ascendant that England obtained over Scotland; and indeed the most important transaction between these kingdoms since the Norman Conquest. It occurred in the reign of Henry II. His son and successor, Richard I., remitted what of the ransom-money remained unpaid at his succession, restored the fortresses, and renounced all claim to the superiority of Scotland.

The Scottish monarchs often held the court and parliament in Stirling castle. It did not, however, become one of their stated residences till the family of Stewart appeared. From different princes of that line it received its present form. It was the birth-place of James II., who often resided in it after he had ascended

the throne. Immediately after the murder of James I., the young king was placed under the government of Sir Thomas Livingston, who had the keeping of the castle. The king, by the contrivance of the Chancellor Crichton, was kept prisoner in Edinburgh. The queen mother resolved to have him under the charge of Livingston; and, visiting her son, under pretext of maternal affection, persuaded him to permit himself to be carried out in a trunk, and put on board a vessel at Leith. They had arrived, ere night, at Stirling castle. The chancellor, however, seized his majesty while hunting in the woods near Stirling, and conducted him with much courtesy to his former place of durance. The regent followed his young charge, and held a conference with Crichton in St. Giles's church, when the Earl of Douglas acted as mediator, but so as to offend both. Inviting him to an entertainment in the castle, these two officials, in the presence of the young and terrified monarch, who employed tears and entreaties, made Douglas and his brother be dragged by armed ruffians from table to the outer court, where they were instantly murdered. The royal apartments were then in the north-west corner of the castle; and latterly, in part, became the residence of the fort-major.

James III., contracting a peculiar fondness for the castle, on account of its pleasant situation,

made it his principal residence, and shut himself in it so closely with his favourites, that the nobility and barons were seldom admitted to any intercourse with him. His mild and, according to the ideas of the age, pious temper, did not coalesce with the turbulence and intrigues of his nobles. He erected several new structures in it, besides repairing and embellishing those that had fallen into decay. He built a hall, 120 feet long, which in those days was deemed a noble and magnificent fabric. James also instituted a college of secular priests in the castle, and erected for them the Chapel-Royal, which was, however, demolished in 1594 by James VI., who, on the same spot, erected the present chapel. The annexation of the rich temporalities of the Priory of Coldingham to this building, by offending the Lords Home and Hailes, was a cause of ruin to James III.

James V. was crowned here; and its chief ornament, the palace, all of hewn stone, with much statuary work, was begun by him in 1540, and finished twelve years later by his widow, Mary of Guise. Its form is square, with a small court in the middle, where the king's lions are said to have been kept, and which still goes by the name of the "Lion's Den." The style of architecture is somewhat singular. It is neither Grecian nor Gothic, but more after the Lombardian, with emblematical figures standing on

wreathed balustrade pillars on pedestals, supported by grotesque characters under arches, and in the pediments of the windows. The statues of James V. and daughter also appear among the others, and, notwithstanding their quaint execution, give a special interest to the edifice.

James VI., who also passed his boyhood here, had for his tutor the famous historian, George Buchanan. And a word more, personally, with respect to the accomplished musician and poet—"The Gudeman of Ballengeich." What, then, could be more *à propos* than a stanza from one of the gaberlunzie ballads that so happily describe his roaming adventures in rustic disguise?

"He took a horn frae his side,
And blew baith loud and shrill,
And four-and-twenty belted knights
Cam' skelpin' o'er the hill.

And he took out his little knife,
Loot a' his duddies fa',
And he stood the brawest gentleman
That was amang them a'."

Buchanan of Auchmar tells a good story of the whimsical monarch. The first proprietor of Arnprior of the name of Buchanan, a place eleven miles from Stirling, in the parish of Kippen, had requested of a carrier to have part of his load at a price; when he was told that the articles were for the king. "Tell him," said Buchanan, "if

he is King of Scotland, I am King of Kippen, and need some of my royal brother's provisions," compelling the carrier to deliver part of the cargo. James, hearing the story, and relishing a joke, resolved to wait on his neighbouring majesty of Kippen, and did so one day with a small retinue. Demanding admittance at the palace of Arnprior, he was refused by a tall fellow holding a battle-axe, who told him there was no admission till his master had finished dinner. "Tell your master," said James, "the Gudeman of Ballengeich humbly requests an audience of the King of Kippen." Buchanan, guessing the quality of his guest, received his Majesty with the appropriate honours, and became so great a favourite, that he had leave to draw upon the carrier as often as he pleased, and was kindly invited as "King of Kippen" to visit his brother sovereign at Stirling. Another anecdote connected with Ballengeich is told of James V. Being benighted, he entered a cottage in the moor near Alloa, and, though unknown, was treated with all possible hospitality. When departing next morning, he invited the *Gudeman* (i.e. landlord) to Stirling castle, and bade him call for the *Gudeman of Ballengeich.* Donaldson, the landlord, having availed himself of the invitation, and doing as directed, gave great amusement to the court, and was, by the King of Scotland, created *King of the Moors.* His descendants retained

the cottage, and a bit of ground, situated on the estate of Alloa, till lately; and each successive representative of his majesty was known by the title to which he was the legitimate heir.

The old Parliament House, too, originally a fine example of Saxon masonry, remains of the ancient fortress. On the north of this upper square, we have also the armoury, formerly the chapel built by James VI. for the baptism of his eldest son, Prince Henry, in 1594. Its chief curiosities are a pulpit and communion table, said to have been used by John Knox; the tilting lance of the whimsical monarch; an old Lochaber axe, found on the field of Bannockburn; 500 pikes, prepared for the use of the peasantry at the time of Napoleon's expected invasion; a number of pikes used by the radical rioters at Bonnymuir; nearly 200 sergeants' halberts; and a timber crown, which, richly gilded, surmounted carved models of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness, that formed part of the interior decorations at the baptism of Prince Henry—the most magnificent piece of pageantry ever witnessed in Scotland.

Immediately after the birth by the queen, Anna, Princess of Denmark, ambassadors were dispatched to the Courts of England, France, Denmark, the Low Countries, Brunswick, and Magdeburg, with tidings of the happy event, and

a request that each would send a representative to the baptism. A convention of the nobility and principal burghs was called, under pretext of asking their advice in the arrangement of the solemnity, but, in reality, to solicit money to defray the expense. The convention, informed of the king's design, readily granted a hundred thousand pounds Scots, or eight thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds sterling. So large a sum gave James fresh spirit, and encouraged him to begin the preparations. The mansion where the prince had been born was pitched upon for the baptism. As the chapel of James III., however, was deemed neither large nor elegant enough, orders were given for its demolition, and the erection of another on a grander scale on its site. Craftsmen were summoned from all parts of the kingdom; and, that the work might be executed with the greater despatch, large pay was allowed; while the king acted as daily overseer.

The despatches to foreign courts had been so well received, that ambassadors arrived from each. Preparations were, meanwhile, progressing, and the courtly guests entertained in the most sumptuous manner. Hunting, and other exercises of the field, or various amusements in the palace, were the pastimes of the day; and the evening was spent in balls, masks, and banquets. Tournaments, and running at the

ring, were practised in the valley, which was surrounded with guards, finely apparelled, to prevent the crowd from breaking in. A scaffold was erected on one side of the valley, for the queen, her ladies, and the foreign ambassadors. The performers, at their entrance, uniformly made a low obeisance to this illustrious company.

The baptism was performed on the 30th of August. It is easy to discern, throughout the whole, the features of that vanity and pedantry which distinguished James VI. The new chapel royal was hung with the richest tapestry, and every embellishment added, tending to heighten the splendour of the occasion. The eastern part was inclosed with a rail, which none was allowed to pass, except the king, and the performers of the service.

At the north-east corner was placed a chair of state for his Majesty; and on the right, at a small distance, another chair finely ornamented. It had been designed for the French ambassador, who had not yet arrived. Next was a seat covered with crimson taffety, for the English ambassador extraordinary. On a desk before him lay a red velvet cushion, and on either side stood a gentleman-usher. Next sat Mr. Robert Bowes, the ordinary ambassador of England, on whose desk lay a purple velvet cushion and cloth. And so on went this part of the show.

In the midst of the rail stood a pulpit, hung

with cloth of gold. All the pavement inside the balustrade was overlaid with fine tapestry. In a desk under the pulpit sat David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, with David Lindsay, minister of Leith, on one hand, and John Duncan, one of his Majesty's ordinary chaplains, on the other. Before them stood a table covered with yellow velvet.

The passage from the prince's chamber, which was in the palace, to the door of the chapel, was lined with a hundred musqueteers, fifty upon either side, finely apparelled, and mostly young burgesses of Edinburgh. When all the necessary preliminaries were completed, his Majesty, attended by the nobility and privy councillors, entered the chapel, and sat down in the chair of state. The foreign ambassadors now repaired to the prince's chamber, where they found the royal infant laid upon a bed of state, embroidered with the "Labours of Hercules." The ascent to a platform on which the bed stood was by three steps, covered with tapestry wrought with gold. A large cloth of lawn covered both bed and steps, and reached a good way over the floor. As soon as the ambassadors and other officers had assembled, the Dowager Countess of Mar approached the bed, and, making a low obeisance, took up the prince, and delivered him into the hands of the Duke of Lennox, who immediately presented him to the English ambassador, to be

by him borne into the chapel. Upon a table in the room stood the implements of the sacred service. These the master of the ceremonies delivered to certain noblemen, to be carried before the prince. The prince's robe-royal, of purple velvet, richly set with pearls, was delivered to Lennox, who put it upon the royal infant, whilst the train was borne by the Lords Sinclair and Urquhart. They adjourned to an outer chamber, where a canopy was supported with four poles, and covered with crimson velvet fringed with gold. At length, when everything had been regularly adjusted, the procession, at sound of trumpet, set out in the following order: Lyon King-at-Arms, with the other heralds in their best robes; the lords bearing the utensils —Lord Seton a silver basin, Lord Livingston a towel, Lord Home a ducal crown, richly set with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds. Then followed the canopy, borne by four barons, viz., Walter Scot of Buccleuch, the Constable of Dundee, Sir Robert Ker of Cesford, and the *Laird* of Traquair. Under the canopy walked the Earl of Sussex, ambassador extraordinary of England, appointed to that special service, carrying the prince in his arms, and assisted by the ordinary ambassador, Mr. Bowes. Along with them was the Duke of Lennox. Around the canopy were the ambassadors of Denmark, Magdeburg, and the States. Last of all followed

the Countess of Mar, Mrs. Bowes, the ladies of honour, and the nurse.

At their entrance into the chapel, the utensils were received by the master of ceremonies, who placed them upon the table before the pulpit; and the noble bearers retired to their seats. The canopy was set down before the pulpit, where the English ambassador delivered the prince to Lennox, who immediately gave him to the Lady Mar, and she in turn committed him into the hands of the nurse. All the ambassadors retired to their respective places. Outside the rail were placed long seats, covered with green, which were occupied by the gentry of England, Scotland, Denmark, Germany, and Flanders.

As soon as all the company were seated, Mr. Patrick Galloway, one of his Majesty's ordinary chaplains, entered the pulpit, and preached from Gen. xxi. 1, 2. When the sermon was finished, the Bishop of Aberdeen rose, and discoursed on the sacrament of baptism, in Latin as well as English, by way of compliment to the Continental part of his audience. The provost and prebends of the chapel sang the 21st Psalm. The king, leaving his seat, advanced towards the pulpit. The ambassadors followed in order. The barons who bore the canopy moved towards the pulpit; and the Duke of Lennox, receiving the prince from the Lady Mar, delivered him to the English ambassador, who held him in his arms during

the performance of the sacred act. The royal child was christened under the names of Frederick Henry, no sooner pronounced, than thrice repeated aloud by the Lyon King-at-Arms, and as often confirmed, with sound of trumpet, by the inferior heralds.

When the action was over, the king, ambassadors, and great officers returned to their seats. The English ambassador, meanwhile, stepping aside, was waited on by two gentlemen-grooms; one of whom, kneeling, presented a basin, while the other, in the same humble attitude, poured water into it. The ambassador washed his hands; and, having wiped them with a towel presented to him, with equal reverence, by a third gentleman-groom, resumed his chair.

When all was composed, the Bishop of Aberdeen, mounting the pulpit, pronounced, in Latin verse, a eulogy on Prince Frederick Henry. He then addressed himself, in Latin prose, to each of the ambassadors; beginning with "My Lord Sussex." He gave a history of each potentate there diplomatically represented, showed the relation which each crowned head bore to the royal family of Scotland, and concluded by giving God thanks on the joyous occasion. It now only remained to pronounce the benediction. This done, the Lyon King-at-Arms cried, "God save Frederick Henry, by the grace of God, Prince of Scotland," and the inferior heralds, at an open

window, re-echoed the benison, with trumpet-sound.

The tables had, meanwhile, been covered in the Parliament House; and, at eight, their majesties and the ambassadors sat down to a sumptuous banquet. When the first course had been removed, the company were surprised by the spectacle of a Moor, having round his neck, for traces, massive chains of gold, and drawing a triumphal car, to the sound of trumpets and hautboys. The machine had been so artfully contrived as to appear to be moved by the Moor unassisted. It was at first designed that a lion should draw it; but, lest the quadruped should alarm the ladies, or, startled by the lamps and torches, commit havoc without distinction of sex, it was deemed preferable that the work should be done by the *biped.*

The chariot bore a table richly covered with fruits, and confectionery, and attended by six damsels, three of whom were clothed in argentine satin, three in crimson satin, and all of them glittering with gold and silver. Each wore on the head a garland; and the hair, which flowed without confinement, was bedecked with feathers, pearls, and jewels. In front stood CERES, holding a sickle in one hand, and a bunch of corn in the other, with this inscription upon her side, FUNDENT UBERES OMNIA CAMPI. Over against CERES stood FŒCUNDITAS, holding some bunches of

poppies, designed to represent fruitfulness, with this design upon one side, FELIX PROLES DIVUM, and upon the other, CRESCANT IN MILLE. Next, on the other side, was placed FIDES, holding a basin, in which were two hands joined, with this sentence, BONI ALUMNA CONJUGII. Over against FIDES stood CONCORDIA, in whose left hand was a golden tassel, and in her right the Horn of Plenty, with this motto, PLENO BEANT TE NUMINA SINU. The next place was occupied by LIBERALITY, who held in her right hand two crowns, and in her left as many sceptres, with the motto, ME COMITE, PLURA DABIS QUAM ACCIPIES. The last was PERSEVERANCE, having in her hand a staff, and upon her left shoulder an anchor, with the scroll, NEC DUBLÆ RES MUTABUNT NEC SECUNDÆ. The dessert was delivered, in silence, by the damsels, to the Earls, Lords, and Barons, as *Sewers*.

Another spectacle, equally uncommon at feasts, entered the hall; a boat placed upon wheels, and moving by invisible springs. Her length of keel was eighteen feet, and breadth of deck eight. The highest flag (which was lowered upon her passing through the door of the hall) was forty feet, from the solid work on which she moved. The masts were red, the tackling and cordage silk of the same colour, and the pulleys gold. Her ordnance consisted of thirty-six brass pieces, elegantly mounted. The sails were of white taffety, and the anchors tipped with silver. In

the fore-sail was a compass, with this device, QUASCUNQUE PER UNDAS. On the main-sail were painted the joint arms of Scotland and Denmark, and this inscription common to both, EN QUÆ DIVISA BEATOS EFFICIUNT, COLLECTA TENES. All the sails, flags, and streamers were embroidered with gold and jewels. The mariners were six, clad in variegated Spanish taffety. The pilot, arrayed in cloth of gold, moved the machine at will. Fourteen musicians, apparelled in taffety, were on board. There, too, was ARION with his harp. Upon the fore-castle stood NEPTUNE, clad in Indian silk, embroidered with silver, holding a trident, and wearing a crown inscribed JUNXI ATQUE REDUXI. Next stood THETIS, with her mace, and this device, NUNQUAM ABERO, ET TUTUM SEMPER TE LITTORE SISTAM. At her hand stood TRITON with his shell, and the scroll, VELIS, VOTIS, VENTIS. Around the vessel were three SYRENS, who, accommodating their gestures to the music, repeated, "UNUS ERIS NOBIS CANTANDUS SEMPER IN ORBE." The vessel was decked with pearls, corals, shells, and other marine productions. At sound of trumpet, she entered the hall; and, at the blast of TRITON's shell, and the pilot's whistle, made sail, discharging her ordnance, till she had reached the table. The *Sewers* received the cargo, being sweetmeats in crystal glasses, curiously painted with gold and azure, and made up in the shape of various fishes. While the

vessel was unloading, ARION, sitting upon the prow, cut in form of the fabled dolphin, struck the harp; then followed hautboys, violins, and flutes; and, last of all, a general concert. When the banquet had ended, thanks were given, and the 138th Psalm sung in seven parts by fourteen voices. Then, at the sound of TRITON'S shell, and the pilot's whistle, the vessel weighed anchor, and made sail, till she had got outside the hall.

But to return to the castle proper. A strong battery, with a tire of guns, pointing to the bridge over the Forth, was erected during the regency of Mary of Lorrain. It is called the French battery, probably from having been constructed by French engineers. The last addition to the fortifications was made under Queen Anne. They had formerly reached no farther than the old gate, where the flag-staff now stands. In that reign they were considerably enlarged towards the town; and bomb-proof barracks, with other conveniences for a siege, were erected. From the unfinished state in which some parts have been left, it would seem as if the whole plan had not been executed.

South-west of the castle lies what is called the King's Park, where the court hunted deer. It extends to the south side of the late race-ground, and at the east end lay the royal gardens. The wall is still to be seen running along the base of

the basaltic columns which here front the south and west. It is not yet a century since it was first traversed by a public road, the old Dumbarton road having hitherto gone by Cambusbarron. This field, together with Gowling, or Gowlan, Hill, and other parcels of ground around the garrison, formed, at one time, a small jurisdiction called the Constabulary of the Castle; but they now belong to the burgh.

In the gardens is a mound of earth, in form of a table, known as "The Knot," where, according to tradition, the court sometimes held *fêtes champêtres*. Barbour, in his account of the battle of Bannockburn, makes mention of the same, which was then at the foot of the castle. He says, that, when Edward of England was told by Mowbray, the governor, that he could not expect safety by being admitted into the fortress, "he took the way beneath the castle by the round table." It is, undoubtedly, of great antiquity, and must have been in that place long before the gardens were formed. Here, probably, the pastime, called "The Knights of the Round Table," was enjoyed, a sport of which several of the Scottish monarchs, particularly James IV., are said to have been fond. Around the gardens, in Mr. Nimmo's day, were the vestiges of a canal, on which the royal family and court aired in barges; but a public road from north to south now traverses the Park here.

In the Castle-hill is a hollow, called "The

Valley," comprehending about an acre, and having the appearance of an artificial work for tournaments, with other feats of chivalry. Here, the first historical flying experiment was made in Scotland, by an Italian friar, whom James IV. had made Abbot of Tungland. The man, from his presumed scientific attainments, and supposed success in alchemy, was a great favourite of the king's. Imagining that he had discovered a method of flying through the air, he appointed a day for an aërial ascension, and invited the king and his court to witness the feat. At the appointed time, the Italian, carrying an enormous pair of wings, ascended one of the battlements of the castle, and, spreading out his plumes, vaulted into the air. Unfortunately for the abbot's reputation, the experiment was a complete failure. Amid the laughter and derision of the whole assembly, the would-be aëronaut came tumbling headlong down; and, although he luckily saved his neck, his thigh-bone was broken. Of course the poor experimentalist had an excuse for his non-success. It was to be attributed, he asserted, to the fact that his wings included some feathers from common dung-hill fowls, instead of having been all from eagles and other noble birds. Close to this valley on the south, is a small pyramidal rock, called "The Ladies' Hill," where the fair ones of the court took their station to witness these "feats."

Opposite the castle, northwards, lies Gowlan Hill, on the extremity of which, near the bridge, is a small mound, known by the name of "Hurly Hawkie," and so called from the childish amusement of using the skeleton of a cow's head, for a sliding stool on the declivity. Hawkie is a sort of generic term for a cow in Scotland, and Lindsay's "Hurly Backit" seems to refer to the same pastime. On this mound, Duncan, the aged Earl of Lennox, and his son-in-law, Murdac, Duke of Albany, lately regent, were, with Alexander, a younger son of the regent's by Duncan's daughter Isabella, beheaded on the 25th May, 1425. Walter, the eldest son, had met the same fate here on the preceding day. The same hill, too, was the scene of the execution of Sir Robert Graham, and several associates, for the assassination of James I. Mr. Nimmo remarks that no known history specifies the crime of the two former nobles, and sons of the regent. But we may explain that an act had been passed in the first parliament after James's return from captivity, ordering the sheriffs to enquire what lands had belonged to the crown during the three preceding reigns, and empowering the king to summon the holders to show their charters. There had, probably, been some demur, rousing James to vigorous measures. He seems to have selected the ringleaders for an example. He ordered into custody Walter Stewart, eldest son

of the late regent, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock; but the latter two were soon after released. He next laid hold of Duncan, the aged Earl of Lennox, and Sir Robert Graham, the future regicide. At a parliament in Perth, he arrested on the 12th of March, 1424-5, Murdac, Duke of Albany, Alexander, his second son, with several others, all of great ancestry and importance. His view probably in seizing so many was, to prevent an insurrection which, as matters stood, was fruitlessly attempted by Murdac's youngest son James. The monarch, adjourning his parliament to Stirling in May, and, presiding in person, formed a jury of twenty-one members. Among them were Walter Stewart Earl of Atholl, and the Earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, all of whom, except Atholl, had been arrested with Albany. There were also three lesser barons who had been similarly seized. As, however, these did not constitute the majority, they could not turn the scale in favour of the accused. What the accusation was, as it is not recorded, we are left to conjecture. The dilapidations of the crown lands implied in the act of parliament recently adverted to, may perhaps sufficiently account for this transaction.

The lordship and castle of Stirling were latterly part of the dowry of the Scottish Queens. A small peninsula betwixt the bridge of Stirling and

the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, still goes by the name of Queen's Haugh, having been the place, where, according to tradition, the queen's cows usually grazed. The charter to a small parcel of ground, within the Constabulary, mentions its having been granted to the first possessor, for the service of taking care of the queen's poultry and washing-tubs.

Sir Robert Erskine was appointed governor of the castle by King David Bruce, in 1360; and for the sustenance of the garrison, had a grant of twelve chalders of oats, and fourteen chalders of wheat, with two hundred merks, which were yearly payable to the crown, out of the feus of Bothkennar. He likewise obtained a grant of all the feus and revenues in Stirlingshire, belonging to the crown, with the wardships, escheats, and other emoluments annexed to them. The office continued in that family until the forfeiture of the Earl of Mar in 1715.

Being a key to the northern parts of Scotland, the possession of Stirling was esteemed important. Hence the sieges and revolutions it has undergone have afforded much matter for history. In 1296, Edward I., enraged at Baliol's renunciation of his allegiance, marched into Scotland with a great army, and, torrent-like, carried all before him. The strongest fortresses yielded, and Stirling, deserted by its garrison, made no stand. After the battle of Stirling, in 1297,

Surrey, being forced to retreat, left the castle under Sir Marmaduke de Twenge, who was obliged instantly to evacuate it before Sir William Wallace. After the battle of Falkirk, Wallace demolished it. Hollingshed says, softly, that "Wallace, after the battle, went, with sundry of his friends, into the castle of Strivelyne." It was repaired by Edward II.; but was, the following year, recovered by the Scots. In 1300, the English usurper laid siege to it; when Sir William Oliphant defended it three months, but, at length, capitulated. It was held by the English till 1303; when the Scottish leaders, having compelled a surrender, restored Oliphant to the command. Edward entered Scotland on the 10th May, and, having penetrated into the North as far as Kinloss, returned on the 6th of November to the Abbey of Dunfermline. Having subsequently dispersed any forces which the Scots could bring into the field, he repaired, early in March, to St. Andrews; where, assembling a great council of English and Scottish barons, he procured the outlawry of Sir William Wallace, Simon Frazer, and the garrison of Stirling castle. Although gunpowder was yet unknown, he despoiled the cathedral of its leaden roof for the siege of the only fortress in Scotland which defied his power. During three months, every expedient was employed by Edward, in person, and often exposing himself, to reduce it.

At length he succeeded by storm. He sent the brave garrison, whose offer of capitulation he had refused, to different jails in England; and the governor to the Tower of London. Wallace still remained, unsullied in fame, and unconquered in spirit; but, having been arrested soon after, and carried to London in fetters, he was condemned for high treason, and suffered death on the 23rd August, 1305. The English now held Stirling castle for ten years, till the battle of Bannockburn, which was fought to relieve it, but in vain. In 1333, it yielded to Edward Baliol. In 1336, after being repaired by Edward III., it was besieged by Sir William Douglas and Sir Andrew Moray, the friends of David Bruce; when Edward relieved it in person. Sir Robert Keith Marischal, one of the chief heroes of Bannockburn, was killed on this occasion. The castle was, next year, blockaded by the same party, and again relieved by Edward. It was captured by Bruce's friends in 1339.

In the beginning of 1746, the Highlanders raised a battery of two 16-pounders, two 8-pounders, and three 3-pounders, between the church and Mar's building, but were dislodged by the artillery of the garrison, under General Blackney. On the 27th of January, they erected a battery of three pieces on Gowlan Hill, and another of similar power on Lady's Hill; and opened both on the 29th. Many of the besiegers

fell by the fire of the castle. It must, however, have surrendered for want of provisions, but for the Duke of Cumberland's approach, and the consequent retreat of the Highland army. A small history of Stirling, which appeared in 1794, mentions an anecdote of Charles Edward, the more worthy of credit that the anonymous author is obviously no Jacobite. The Highlanders had to pass along St. Mary's Wynd in going to and from Gowlan Hill, and, while passing an opening, were exposed to the cannon of the castle, purposely pointed. The more cowardly crept hurriedly on all-fours, while the braver marched deliberately and erect. "The town's people remarked," says the history referred to, "that among the latter was the young Prince Charles."

Several important transactions, civil and sacred, have, at different times, taken place in Stirling castle. Some laws of Alexander II. annexed to the *Regiam Majestatem*, were enacted within it, particularly that, so friendly to liberty, which established trials by jury. William the Lion held a parliament in the castle, for the payment of his ransom. Here William died in 1212. Several parliaments and conventions met during the short reign of John Baliol. Here, also, the epistle is dated which, with the advice of the States, he wrote to the King of France in 1295, proposing a marriage between a princess of France and young Baliol.

It was the place of both the birth and coronation of James V. His daughter, too, was crowned in the castle in 1543, when scarce nine months old. Arran, the regent, carried the crown on that occasion, and Lennox the sceptre. A numerous assembly of the States, then present, appointed the fortress to be the royal minor's residence, and committed the alternate keeping of her person, and superintendence of her education, to the Lords Graham, Lindsay, Erskine, and Livingston.

The only son of Darnley and Queen Mary was born on the 19th of June, 1566, in Edinburgh castle, but soon after conveyed to Stirling, where, on the 15th of December, he was baptized with much solemnity. Great preparations were made for the occasion. Couriers were dispatched to the courts of England, France, and Savoy; and ambassadors arrived from each, to countenance the assembly. A convention of the states granted a thousand pounds sterling to defray the expense. The prince was held up at the font by the Countess of Argyll, in name of, and by commission from the Queen of England. He was baptized by the archbishop, and named James Charles. The whole service was Romish, with the exception of the spittle. Neither Bedford, nor any of the Scottish Protestant nobility entered the chapel. They stood outside the door.

The king was not present at his son's baptism. Buchanan assigns a ridiculous reason—that the tailors and embroiderers had neglected to provide him in proper clothes. Others, with more probability, represent him as having learned that Bedford and his retinue had received express orders from Elizabeth not to address him by the title of king. As it was inconsistent with his honour to be denied it in his own court, and, at the same time, imprudent to quarrel with the Queen of England, he had, possibly, judged it expedient not to appear.

After service, the queen, with the English and French ambassadors, sat down to an elegant repast, in the Parliament House. The second course was brought in a wheeled machine, accompanied by a musical band. At the suggestion of a Frenchman, a number of men dressed as satyrs, with long tails, and whips, preceded the vehicle. Some Englishmen, conceiving a personal insult, raised a noise; and it was with much difficulty that the queen could appease the uproar. Bedford alone of his countrymen treated the infantine pageant with silent contempt.

The ambassadors, during their stay, were entertained with frequent banquets, and various amusements. Bedford never attended worship in the chapel, but went with the Protestant lords to the town-church. At his departure, he was presented by the queen with a chain of

diamonds, valued at 2000 crowns. His retinue also were honoured with presents.

Outside the castle, at the head of Broad Street, are the remains of a conspicuous building, which, in its style of architecture, strikingly resembles the castle of St. Andrews. It is popularly known as "Mar's Work," from the name of the founder, John, Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine, Regent of Scotland, who erected it in 1570. The front wall of the house, however, is the only portion that remains. Above the main entrance door, the full royal armorial bearings of Scotland are still entire; and on the two flanking towers on either side of the principal entrance, are the respective armorial bearings of John, Earl of Mar, and of his Countess, Annabella Murray, of Tulliebardine. On the eastern door, there is the following quaint inscription, which many will consider of very general application :—

"The moir I stand in oppin licht,
My faultis moir subject ar to sicht."

Another appeals, on this or on other grounds, for a lenient judgment :—

"I pray al luikaris on this luging,
With gentle e to give their juging."

Looking over the castle ramparts—and this, after all, is the great attraction—we have before us one of the finest and most stirring views in all Scotland.

We see stretching away to the west the rich strath of Menteith, bounded on the one hand by the Fintry hills, and on the other by the braes of Aberfoyle, with the stately Highland mountains rising beyond. In the foreground, is the wooded cone of Craigforth. On the east we have the Ochils and Abbey Craig, with its Wallace Monument; and near at hand, we look down on the beautiful windings, or "links," of the Forth. But the historical footprints of the landscape are of still deeper interest. Within a radius of a few miles no less than six great battles were fought within historic times—Stirling Bridge, 1297; Falkirk, 1298; Bannockburn, 1314; Sauchieburn, or Field of Stirling, 1488; Kilsyth, 1645; and Falkirk, 1746. Probably in no area of so small extent throughout the world have so many momentous conflicts taken place. And there can be little doubt that the physical features of the district have had a powerful influence in this phase of our human history.

CHAPTER VI.

FEUDAL CASTLES.

THERE are a number of these baronial residences, of the feudal ages, throughout the county; but few historical associations hang about their dilapidated walls. They occupy, however, as a rule, most attractive ground both with respect to scenery and situation; and, even in their ruins, present us with a striking picture of the ferocity of the Scottish barons of former days. Constant discord with their neighbours, which often broke out into open hostilities, obliged them to hold their houses always in a state of defence.

Near the source of the Carron, stood one of these strongholds, called Graham's Castle, which is commonly credited with having been the birthplace of the brave Sir John de Graham, who was slain in the battle of Falkirk about the end of the thirteenth century. It was situated in a sequestered spot, on the brow of a hill, which in early times must have been difficult of access. Burned by the English nearly 600 years ago, the building

has long been in ruins, and all that now remains of it is its drawbridge, and the ditch with which it was encompassed. Once a wreck, its stones were soon carried off for farm out-houses and dykes—a practice that would have speedily dispersed the vestiges of ancient Rome itself had they not been early consecrated by the Popes. Here Sir William Wallace oftentimes found a retreat in the midst of his toilsome and patriotic adventures. A relic of this interesting ruin consists of a neat hewn stone, which, by the natives, had been called "the font for holy water," till a Highland shepherd, passing to a Falkirk fair, pronounced it to be a *quairn*, or hand-mill for grinding corn. Near the castle stood a chapel, with a burial place called the Kirk of Muir, which belonged to this same family of Graham from whom the Duke of Montrose is descended.

On the north bank of the same river, near Denny, lies Herbertshire, one of the grandest embattled residences in the country. Although the date of its erection is unknown, reliable records inform us that it was originally a hunting station, and given by an early James to the then Earl of Wigtown, as his *halbert-share* for services rendered in war. In the fifteenth century, the estate was in the possession of that once powerful family the Sinclairs, Dukes of Orkney. In the following century, it became the property of

the Earls of Linlithgow, from whom it passed into a family named Stirling, cadets of the Stirlings of Auchyle, in Perthshire. Then an heiress of this surname sold it about 100 years ago to a Mr. Morehead, whose grandson, in turn, disposed of it in 1835 to the father of the present proprietor, William Forbes, Esq., of Callendar. The banks of the Carron here are very picturesque, sloping in stripes of verdant meadows, tufted with trees to the water's edge, and rising boldly into rocks fringed with brushwood and crowned with plantations.

Castlecary Castle, now the oldest habitable building in Scotland, was burned by a party of Highlanders during the rebellion of 1715. What remains of it, however, is sufficient to convey an idea of its massive strength as a defensive dwelling. This ancient keep, and the lands connected with it, presently belong to the Earl of Zetland; but they only recently came into the possession of the noble family of Dundas. The house consists of a square tower 40 feet in height, and has a species of turreted battlement at top, in which a sheltered stone still bears a rude and time-worn image of a human head and coat of arms. On measuring, we found the walls 5 feet thick; and even the spiral staircase of the fabric is, in its way, quite as strongly built. The modern portion of the building lies towards the east, and carries the date 1679. Underneath, where the cellar of

a modern residence would be, there is a dungeon in which prisoners must, at one time, have been kept. There are also secret passages, and subterraneous arches, regarding which it would be idle to speculate. At the top of the garden—a plot of ground said to have been the bowling-green of the castle—stands a fine English yew, which, taken a yard above the soil, measures 8 feet 3 inches in circumference. Another rare specimen of the same tree is seen on the bank of the Caledonian Railway, some 10 yards south-east of its more stately companion.

This castle, if tradition may be trusted, was the birth-place of Alexander Baillie, the famous antiquarian. At all events, his sister Lizzie leapt from one of the windows into the plaid of a handsome yeoman—Donald Graham—whom she had met on the island of Inchmahome, and took kindly to as a suitor. But old Baillie was dead against his richly-tochered daughter mating with a poor Highland chieftain. And hence the midnight elopement.

> "Shame light on the loggerheads,
> That live at Castlecary,
> To let awa the bonny lass
> The Highlandman to marry."

In the Glen, which lies immediately on the west side of the castle, the botanist may find a rich and interesting field. Among other gems of the

wood, brightly blooming, in season, within the same footstep, we have woundwort *(Stachys sylvatica)*, with its soft, hairy stalk, flower-busked at every joint; woodruff *(Asperula odorata)*, slender too in stem, with drooping snow-white head; and snakeweed *(Pologonum bistorta)*, luxuriantly leaved, and displaying an elegant spike of flowers.

At Torwood, we have the last remains of the primeval Caledonian forest. The locality, need we say, is associated with all that is ennobling in patriotism and personal valour. Down on the top of an ordinary "hillock," north of the present toll-house, stood the gigantic oak into whose capacious interior Wallace is said to have retreated when pursued, in 1298, by Edward I. of England. The noble tree, which had a trunk some 12 feet in diameter, was surrounded, in former days, by a marsh full of foliage and frogs. Not the smallest vestige, however, of the Wallace oak remains. Even the "oldest inhabitant" can say nothing of it save what he has gathered from tradition. Sir Walter Scott, in his "Tales of a Grandfather," speaks of having seen some of its roots eighty years ago; and recently we were shown a treasured morsel of the tree in the Chambers' Institute at Peebles. Wallace, undoubtedly, often chose the solitude of the Torwood as a place of rest for his army, raised and roused to oppose the tyranny of Edward. Here he concealed his numbers and his designs,

sallying out suddenly on the enemy's garrisons, and retreating as suddenly when afraid of being overpowered. While his army lay in these woods, "the oak" was his head-quarters. Within it, the illustrious hero generally slept, the hollow trunk being huge enough to afford shelter both to himself and one or more of his associates. But of one defeated army after another we find it said that the fugitives found refuge here.

Keltor, or Choil-tor, was the ancient Celtic name of the district; and Tor, or Thor, from which the word Thursday is derived, was one of the great deities worshipped by the Picts. The road leading to the castle will be found somewhat rough-rutted; but the prospect from the feudal heights is magnificent. Northwards, there is unfolded for miles an undulating, luxuriant, and well-wooded valley, irrigated by the Forth, and walled in by the mammiform Ochils, and the bold range of the Grampians. The "fort" was built about the middle of the sixteenth century, by one of the Baillies, and ultimately fell into the hands of the Forrester family, who were possessors until 1720, when the estate was purchased by an ancestor of the present Mr. Dundas of Carronhall. The sequestered situation of the tumbling peel is the very ideal of solitude; and it may be fairly questioned whether it ever looked so beautiful as now, with its owlet-haunted walls crumbling piece-meal down to dust. To some, however, the

mere remains of human buildings are unsightly enough; and they are only affected thereby with a sense of desolation.

On the lands of Carnock, there is a round tower called Bruce Castle; but except the name there is no tradition when, by whom, or for what purpose it was erected.

Proudly overlooking alluvial ground stands Airth (Hill) Castle, now the property of the Grahams. The portion which faces the south is the original structure; but a large addition, elegant and modern in style, was added to the north side in 1802. The tower especially of this building is supposed to be of great antiquity—older even than that at Powfoulis. According to Blind Harry, this was the residence of Thomlin Weir, the English captain, who, with a hundred of his men, was slain by Wallace, when the great champion of Scottish rights came to the rescue of his uncle from a cruel imprisonment. It must be remembered, however, that it was at the lapse of 200 years that the said narrative appeared; and, moreover, that the more thrilling incidents recorded in such historical romances are not altogether beyond suspicion. But of this we are certain, that Fergus de Erth, a noble of whom mention is made in the "Rotuli Scotice," occupied the castle in 1369. The estate fell into the possession of the Grahams, through Judge Graham, in 1717. Prior to 1802, the house was known

simply as Airth Place. Closely adjoining are the ruins of the old church, encircled by a burying ground, in which the tombstones are all broken and defaced, and more than half hid with a luxuriant growth of nettles. This church consisted of a nave, with north aisle and chancel. The oldest portion now remaining belongs to the transition period of the twelfth century. On the south side of the nave is a chapel known as the Airth aisle, in which is a mural arch that had at one time contained a recessed tomb with a recumbent effigy, probably the mutilated semi-effigy of a female now placed in the east end of the church. On the exterior of the east wall of the aisle is a Gothic niche and canopy, on the pedestal of which is a shield of arms bearing the well-known saltire and chief of the Bruces. The letters are S. J. B.—initials of Sir John Bruce, who married Margaret, third daughter of Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, and his spouse Jean Livingstone. All the architectural details of the aisle are in the style of the fifteenth century. Beneath it is the vault in which the former barons of Airth and their families are interred. In summer, the avenue leading to the castle is totally overshadowed with foliage. But everywhere on the Airth estate are oaks, ashes, walnuts, chestnuts, and elms of remarkable beauty; while across the ruins of the old garden are many rare specimens of the bay, Portugal-laurel, and holly. Yet the most extraordinary of the trees is

an ash, which contains some 400 feet of timber, and stands girded about the trunk and branches with several iron hoops. Here may be found growing in abundance the *Pyrethrun parthenium*, and the less frequent *Cystopteris fragilis*, a fern of very tender but graceful texture; also, the *Arum maculatum*, a plant which is uncommon on both sides of the Forth.

But of all our deserted castles that called Haining, near Polmont, is the most entire. Even yet there is a substantial staircase leading to the very top of the ivy-clad ruins. The building, like the great bulk of its class, seems to have consisted of three storeys. There was, for example, a ground flat, vaulted, from which rose a large hall with arched roof; and above that again were the dormitories, or sleeping apartments. Haining, which is said to have been occupied by Cromwell and his advanced guard, was built by the Crawfords, who claim to be descended from that Crawford who, early in the twelfth century, rescued David I. from the attack of an infuriated stag on the spot where Holyrood now stands, the abbey of which was erected in commemoration of this great deliverance. The castle was transferred by marriage to the family of Livingstone in 1540, and continued there till the name was changed to Almond Castle in 1633, when the second son of the Earl of Linlithgow was created a baron by that title. For several generations this Haining

was a favourite seat of the Earls of Callendar. And little wonder.

> "A region of repose it seems—
> A place of slumber and of dreams,
> Remote among the wooded vales."

The castle of Duntreath also claims notice. Nothing is now known either with regard to its original proprietors or its age; but the whole district, at one period, belonged to the powerful family of the Lennoxes. Sir William Edmonstone, Bart., whose ancestral name first appeared in the county of Mid-Lothian about the beginning of the thirteenth century, is the present "laird," and frequently visits Duntreath. The castle stands on the north side of the Blane, near the opening of the beautiful strath to which the stream gives name. Southward rises the conical hill of Dungoiach, and across the valley opposite is another wood-clad eminence called the Park Hill. The north and east sides of the building are utterly gone, having been unroofed and left to decay some two centuries ago. The southern front was never finished; but in this part rests the "Dumb Laird's Tower." In the surroundings of the place cultivation and romantic beauty are united in no common degree.

The approach to the ancient castle of Mugdock,

which is situated on an elevated spot about two miles from the village of Milngavie, is exceedingly beautiful. Around the irregular margin of a lovely little loch, a commodious drive has been formed, from which several fine views of the venerable edifice and the various landscape features of the locality may be obtained. That portion of the building which fronts the water, having been fitted up as a modern residence, has a look of apparently youthful appearance; but immediately behind this rises a stalwart quadrangular tower, lichened and grey, bearing undoubted evidence of antiquity in its narrow windows and loopholes, while numerous architectural remains in various stages of decay are scattered around. The lordly structure, majestic even in its desolation, has obviously been the work of several generations. At the periods which preceded 1550 or 1500, the residences of the land-owners or country chiefs were not of the nature of ordinary mansion-houses, which could not have suited the disturbed political state of the country. They were not the dwellings of people in a state of peace, but were small fortresses constructed for defending the inhabitants from the attacks of their neighbours. The residence of a Scotch chief about 1300 was prepared for defence. The state of the country rendered this necessary. Mugdock Castle was for many years a favourite residence of the "gallant Grahams,"

of Montrose, a family whose name is honourably distinguished in the history of our country, but regarding whose memory as associated with this their ancient dwelling-place tradition is all but silent. Not a legend or ballad of the olden time has been discovered concerning Mugdock. From history, also, we learn but little respecting it. Almost the only events recorded of the edifice are, that the castle and barony were acquired from Maldwin, Earl of Lennox, in the reign of Alexander II., by David de Graham, in exchange for certain lands in Galloway, and that it became, on the burning of Kincardine Castle, 1646, the principal residence of the Montrose family. After the restoration, in 1688, and during the heat of the persecution in Scotland, Mugdock was visited by the Earls of Rothes and Middleton, with a number of their associates in the work of spiritual tyranny; and it is stated that sad scenes of revelry and bacchanalian license occurred on the occasion. A wild crew, no doubt, in their orgies they were; and it may well be supposed that the Covenanters of the neighbourhood would watch with silent horror the lighted windows of the tower wherein the foes of their civil and religious freedom were congregated in the madness of drunken merriment. Overlooking a steep bank on the same platform, and at a short distance to the north of the castle, are the ruins of a small chapel, now roofless and desolate in the ex-

treme. The walls are rent and shattered, while the rank weeds are waving on the floor, and trailing over the prostrate stone where once the altar stood.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

IN 1124, David I., youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, ascended the Scottish throne, which had been successively occupied by three of his brothers. This prince is celebrated on account of many valuable qualities. By his valour, he not only defended the kingdom against the hostile attempts of England, but made several successful inroads upon that nation; by his wisdom, he established the most salutary laws for the internal government of his dominions, and the administration of justice amongst his subjects. To him we are indebted for that system of laws which, from the first two words of it, goes by the name of "*Regiam Majestatem.*" His military prowess, and political talents, were accompanied with great ardour of devotion, according to the religious form of times that had degenerated into the grossest superstition. This led him so far into the common error of the age, that, by erecting and endowing religious houses in different parts of his dominions, he greatly impoverished the revenues of the crown.

Not satisfied with repairing such as were decayed by age, or spoiled by the injuries of war, he raised so many new establishments of that kind, that, if we had not full evidence of his activity in civil and military transactions, we should be induced to believe that he had employed his whole life in the affairs of religion.

Four bishoprics, eleven abbeys, two nunneries, besides sundry small religious fabrics, owed their foundations and first endowments to this prince's mistaken notions of piety, and, in testimony of gratitude, the clergy, finding their interests so much advanced by the liberality of their sovereign, distinguished him by the title of "*St. David.*"

Cambuskenneth, which, in process of time, became one of the most opulent of the Scottish abbeys, was founded by that monarch in 1147. Though it stood in the shire of Clackmannan, it had very large possessions in the county of Stirling, and being situated upon its borders, an account of it can be reckoned no great deviation from our plan. It was situated a mile north-east of the town of Stirling, upon the north bank of the Forth, and in a sort of peninsula formed by that winding river. The adjacent fields had been the scene of some transaction, in which one of those Scottish monarchs who bore the name of Kenneth had been concerned; and hence the place received the name of *Camus-kenneth*, which signifies "Field or Creek of Kenneth." The situation was both plea-

sant and convenient, in the midst of a fertile country, where the community could be supplied with all sorts of provisions—grain of every kind, coal, and an abundance of fish from the neighbouring river.

As soon as the house was fit to receive inhabitants, it was planted with a company of monks of St. Augustine, or canons regular, who were translated from Aroise, near Arras, in the province of Artois in France ; an order afterwards so numerous in Scotland, as to possess no less than twenty-eight monasteries in the kingdom.

This abbey was sometimes called the Monastery of Stirling, from its vicinity to the town ; and the abbots are often designated, in the subscriptions of old charters, *abbates de Striveling*. The church which belonged to it was dedicated to St. Mary. Hence a lane leading from one of the streets of that town to the monastery, still goes by the name of St. Mary's Wynd.

The following is a literal translation of the first charter of King David to the religious fraternity of this place :—

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I, David, by the grace of God, king of Scots, with the consent of Henry my son, and of the bishops of my realm, and with the confirmation and attestation of the earls and barons, do grant, and confirm in perpetual peace, to the church of St. Mary of Strive-

ling, and the canons regularly living in it, the subjects under-written. These then are the subjects which I grant to the said church,—The land of Cambuskenneth, and the fishing between the same land and Polmaise, and one net in the water; also the land of Colling, with the wood, and its just divisions; the land also of Tillibody which is between the water of the same land and the land of Loching; forty shillings likewise of my revenues of Stirling; and the cane of one ship; and one salt-pan, and as much land as belongs to one of my salt-pans; and the tenth of the feu-duty of my lordship of Stirling; and the oblations which shall be offered in the foresaid church; and the island which is between Polmaise and Tillibody; and twenty *cuderni* of cheeses of my revenues of Stirling, I grant and confirm; as I also do, to the same church, the liberty and consuetude which I have granted and confirmed to the other churches of my land. I will, therefore, that whatever things the foresaid church possesses at present, or may possess in future, she do possess as quietly and freely, as I possess the foresaid lands. Saving the defence of my kingdom, and the administration of royal justice, should the prelate, by any impulse, swerve therefrom. The witnesses of this confirmation are, Henry, the king's son; Robert, Bishop of Saint Andrews; Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld; Herbert, Elect of Glasgow; G., Abbot of Dunfermline; —

Abbot of Saint Andrews; Robert, Prior of Saint Andrews; Gilbert, Prior of Jeddewart; Edward, Chancellor; Earl Duncan, Leodulph de Brechin, Hugh de Morville; Herbert, Chamberlain; Will. de Somerville, Alan de Foulis, Will. de Lindeff, Walter de Riddel."

Besides the subjects mentioned in the foundation-charter, King David made sundry other considerable donations to the monastery. He conveyed a grant of the church of Clackmannan, with 40 acres of land and priest's-croft near the church; as also of a toft at Stirling, and another at Linlithgow; together with the tenth of all the sums duly payable for obtaining decreets in the courts of Stirlingshire and Callendar. At another time, he bestowed the farm of Kettlestone, near Linlithgow, together with the lands of Malar, near Touch, and certain privileges in the wood of Keltor, now known by the name of Torwood.

The original charter was confirmed by sundry succeeding monarchs, with the addition of other lands and privileges. Large donations were also made by private persons, in so much that, in a short time, the endowments of this erection became very great. Some of those donations bear that they were granted *in puram eleemosynam*, others that they were made *pro salute animæ* of the donors. Of this sort is a charter by Robert II., 28th February, 1388-9, to St. Lawrence's altar in the church of Stirling, of a passage-boat on the

Forth, with a croft of land annexed, "for our salvation, and our children's, as also for the soul of our late dear consort Eupheme Queen of Scotland."

Bulls also were obtained from sundry Popes, protecting the churches, lands, and other privileges belonging to the monastery, and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all persons whatsoever from withholding from the canons any of their just rights, or disturbing them in the possession of them.

The most curious of those bulls is that of Pope Celestine III., dated May, 1195, as it enumerates the possessions and immunities of the monastery at that time.

It protects the farm of Cambuskenneth; the lands of Colling; the lands of Carsie and Bandeath, with the wood thereof; Tillibotheny; the island called Redinche, situated between Tillibotheny and Polmaise; the farm of Kettlestone, with its mills; the lands upon the bank of the Forth, between Pulmill and the road leading down to the ships; a full toft in the burgh of Stirling, and another in Linlithgow; one net in the water of Forth; twenty *cuderni* of cheeses out of the king's revenues at Stirling; forty shillings of the king's revenues of the same place; one salt-pan, and as much land as belongs to one of the king's salt-pans; the church of Clackmannan, with forty acres of land, and its chapels

and toft; the fishings of Carsie and Tillibotheny; the fishing between Cambuskenneth and Polmaise; the half of the skins and tallow of all the beasts slain for the king's use at Stirling.

The preceding possessions and privileges were the donations of King David; those that follow have the names of the several donors prefixed to them.

From a grant of Malcolm IV., grandson and successor of David I., the mill of Clackmannan, except the multure of the king's table, as often as he shall come to that village; fifty shillings out of the customs of Perth. By a grant of King William, a full toft in the village of Perth; the church of Kinclething, with lands and other pertinents; the church of Tullicultrie, with all its pertinents; the church of Kincardine, with the lands assigned it, and all its pertinents; the church of Gleninglefe, with all pertaining to it. By a grant of the Countess Ada, widow of Prince Henry, one full toft in the burgh of Crail, and half a carrucate of land, and common pasturage in Pethcorthing; one merk of silver out of her revenues of Crail; one full toft in the burgh of Haddington. By a grant of Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, the church of Egglis (St. Ninian's), with its chapels of Dunipace and Lethbert, and all its other chapels and oratories, and all other pertinents. By a grant of Richard, Bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed by the king, the church of Alveth, with its pertinents. By a gift of Allan,

eldest son to Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland, a full toft in the burgh of Renfrew, and one fishing in the water of the same village. By a grant of Philip de Lunding, half a carrucate, or ploughgate, of land, with a meadow pertaining to it, in Balcormack; the pasturage of five hundred sheep, and twenty cows, and a carrucate of land in the farm of Binning. By a grant of Goteline, and William, the son of Thorald, confirmed by the king, the church of Kirkintilloch, with half a carrucate of land, and all pertinents. From a grant of Gilbert de Umfraville, two ox-gangs of the lands of Dunipace chapel.

The bull likewise protects to the monastery the tithes of all the lands which the monks should cultivate with their own hands, or which should be cultivated at the expense of the community; as also, the tithes of all the beasts reared upon the pastures of the community; and inhibits all persons from exacting these tithes. It likewise empowers the fraternity to nominate priests or vicars to the several parish churches belonging to them, whom they were to present to the bishop of the diocese, within whose jurisdiction these churches lay, that, upon finding them qualified, he might ordain them to the charge of the souls. These priests were to be answerable to the bishop for the discharge of their spiritual functions, but to the abbot for the temporalities of their respective churches.

It, moreover, grants to the community the privilege of performing divine service, with a low voice and shut doors, without ringing bells, lest they incur a national interdict.

Another bull of protection was granted by Innocent III., in 1201, in which sundry parcels of lands at Innerkeithing, Duneglin, and Ayr, are mentioned, which had been conferred upon the monastery since the date of Celestine's bull.

During the space of 200 years after its erection, the monastery was almost every year acquiring fresh additions of wealth and power, by donations of lands, tithes, patronages of churches, and annuities, proceeding from the liberality of kings, earls, bishops, and barons, besides many rich oblations which were daily made by persons of inferior rank.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, there appears a visible decline of that liberality to religious establishments, which, in preceding ages, had been so vigorously exerted by all ranks. Donations became less frequent; and the immense possessions acquired by cathedrals and monasteries had begun to be considered as public burthens; and not without cause, for near one half of Scotland was in the possession of ecclesiastics. Several proprietors of land withheld payment of the tithes due from their estates, until they had been prosecuted, and decreets obtained against them, in the civil courts. John, Lord Fleming, chamber-

lain of Scotland, under the Duke of Albany's regency, in the minority of James V., relying, no doubt, upon his great power and influence, kept back for seven years payment of the tithes of his land in Kirkintilloch, amounting to thirty-three bolls of meal, and three bolls of barley yearly. He was prosecuted at the instance of the community in 1523; and made a composition for arrears, at the rate of eight shillings four pennies Scots per boll. Much about the same time, the feuars and tenants of Kilmaronock were prosecuted for the tithes of their lands, amounting to a large quantity of victual yearly.

The first abbot of Cambuskenneth was called Alfridus; but of him and his successors, for three centuries, we have found nothing memorable.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find the abbots of this place frequently employed in important national transactions, or advanced to the highest civil offices. The abbot of Cambuskenneth is named among those who, in 1423, were sent into England by Murdo, Duke of Albany, to negotiate a treaty concerning the ransom of James I., who had long been detained a captive in that kingdom, and in whose liberty the negotiation terminated.

Henry, abbot of Cambuskenneth, after having given proofs of his political abilities in an embassy to England, was, in 1493, raised to the office of high treasurer of Scotland, which he held only a

short time. The cause of his removal from it is not known; but a discharge, under the great seal, of his intromissions while in that office, is inserted in the chartulary of his abbey, under the title of "*Acquitancia Henrici abbatis de Cambuskenneth de officio thesaurarii, vicesimo sexto die mensis Augusti* 1495." He died in 1502, having held the abbotship above thirty years.

He was succeeded by David Arnot, formerly archdeacon of Lothian; who, after having been six years at the head of the Abbey, was, in 1509, preferred to the bishopric of Galloway, to which the deanery of the chapel-royal of Stirling was annexed.

The next abbot was Patrick Panther or Panter, who was reckoned one of the most accomplished scholars of that age, as well as an able statesman; he was secretary to James IV., who also raised him to the dignity of a privy counsellor. To his pen the Latin epistles of that monarch were indebted for that purity and elegance of style which distinguished them from the barbarous compositions of the foreign princes with whom he corresponded. He was also appointed preceptor to the king's natural son, Alexander Stewart, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, whose uncommon progress in literature is so much celebrated by Erasmus, under whose tuition he sometime was. In the minority of James V., Panther was thrown into prison, upon suspicion of having been con-

cerned in treasonable designs against the Duke of Albany, then regent; but no proof of his guilt appearing, he was in a short time released, and pitched upon, together with the famous Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, and sundry other persons of eminence, to accompany the Duke into France; whither he went in 1516, in order to renew the ancient league betwixt that kingdom and Scotland. He was now left *Charge des Affaires* at the French court, where he died in 1519. According to Dempster, he wrote a book, entitled "*Politicæ Observationes*," dedicated to James IV., for whose use it was chiefly designed. It is now lost.

To Panther succeeded Alexander Mill, who had formerly been a canon of Dunkeld. He was employed in sundry negotiations with England by James V.; and, when that monarch erected the Court of Session in 1532, Mill, on account of his great knowledge of the civil and canon laws, was pitched upon to be the first president. He wrote a history of the Bishops of Dunkeld, which is said to be still extant in manuscript.

David Panther, who was a nephew or some other near relation of the above Patrick, was commendator of this abbey, in the latter end of the reign of James V., and the minority of Queen Mary. His first office in the church was vicar of Carstairs, near Lanark. He was afterwards prior of St. Mary's Isle, in Galloway; next commen-

dator of Cambuskenneth; and, last of all, he was raised to the see of Ross in 1552. He was an accomplished scholar, and admirably skilled in the Latin language. As he had been assisting his friend, Patrick Panther, in penning the letters of James IV., so it is probable that those of James V. were indebted to him for their elegance and purity; for he was principal secretary of state, and a privy counsellor, in the latter end of that king's reign, and continued to hold both offices in the infancy of Queen Mary. He was much employed in foreign negotiations; and the ability and success with which he managed those public transactions, gained him great esteem at court. He died of a lingering illness in the town of Stirling in 1558. He had been a strenuous opposer of the Reformation.

Much civil as well as sacred business was transacted in religious houses. In 1308, Sir Neil Campbell, Sir Gilbert Hay, with other barons, having met at Cambuskenneth, entered into an association to defend the liberty of their country, and the title of Robert Bruce to the crown, against all enemies of whatever nation; to which they not only affixed their subscriptions and seals, but swore upon the great altar.

The Scottish kings transacted business almost as often in monasteries as in palaces. Many charters are still extant, which were granted by different sovereigns at Cambuskenneth. It was

also the place of meeting of sundry conventions of Parliament.

In 1326, the whole clergy, earls, and barons, with a great number of an inferior rank, having convened in the Abbey, swore fealty to David Bruce, as heir apparent to the crown, in presence of Robert his father; as also to Robert Stewart, grandson of the king, as the next heir, in the event of David's death without issue. A marriage was, at the same time, solemnized between Andrew Murray, of Bothwell, and Christian Bruce, sister of King Robert.

At that meeting too, an arrangement was entered into between the king on the one part, and the earls, barons, freeholders, and communities of boroughs on the other, whereby the king obtained a grant, during his life, of the tenth penny of all the revenues belonging to laymen in the kingdom, both within and without the burghs.

It has been observed that this is the first parliament in which burgesses are mentioned as having a seat. Under the feudal governments, that order of men had long been deemed of too mean a rank to be allowed a place in the national councils. In England, however, they had formed a part of the legislative power, near half a century before the reign of Robert Bruce. It is not, indeed, certain, whether as yet they were considered as a constituent part of the legislature in Scotland, or only permitted to vote in what im-

mediately concerned themselves, no express mention being made of the three estates till the next reign. Although they were not, however, in the reign of Robert, allowed a constant seat in the national council; yet the principles of both policy and equity suggested to that sage monarch, that, when they were to be taxed for the support of government, they should be called to give their consent, by being represented in that diet at least of parliament which taxed them.

During the wars with England, in the reign of David Bruce, the monastery was pillaged of all its most valuable furniture. The books, vestments, cups, and ornaments of the altar, were carried off. In order to the reparation of that loss, William Delandel, Bishop of St. Andrews, made a grant to the community of the vicarage of Clackmannan.

In 1559, the monastery was spoiled, and a great part of the fabric cast down by the reformers, who, however laudable their intentions were, proceeded, in several instances, to the execution of them in a tumultuary manner. Several of the monks embraced the reformation; and, on that account, had their portions withdrawn by the queen-regent.

Monasteries were places of such general resort, that they were often the stage of mercantile as well as sacred transactions. The great concourse of people that usually assembled around

religious houses upon holy days, required provisions for their refreshment. This suggested the idea of a gainful trade to traffickers, who repaired thither, not only with victuals and drink, but different other articles of merchandise, which they disposed of amongst the crowd. This was the origin of fairs. Hence *feria*, which originally signified "festival," came also to signify "fair"; and the old fairs have generally their name from some popish saint, near whose festival they were held. In 1529, a boat, on its return to Stirling from one of those solemnities at Cambuskenneth, being over-loaden, sank in the river. Fifty persons of distinction, besides many others, were drowned.

David Panther was the last ecclesiastic who possessed the lucrative abbotship of Cambuskenneth. During the commotions which accompanied the reformation, church-benefices were often seized upon by those in power, without any lawful authority. John, Earl of Mar, afterwards Regent, had the disposal of the revenues of Cambuskenneth. He had during the reign of James V., been appointed commendator of Inchmahome. After the reformation had taken place, one of his nephews, Adam Erskine, was commendator of Cambuskenneth.

In 1562, by virtue of an order from Queen Mary, and the privy council, an account was taken of all the revenues belonging to cathedrals,

abbeys, priories, and other religious houses, that stipends might be modified to the reformed clergy, who were to have a third of the benefices. According to that account, the revenues of Cambuskenneth were £930 13s. 4½d. Scots, eleven chalders, eleven bolls, two firlots of wheat; twenty-eight chalders, twelve bolls, three firlots, three pecks, two lippies of bear; thirty-one chalders, six bolls, three firlots, three pecks, two lippies of meal; nineteen chalders, fifteen bolls, three firlots, three pecks, two lippies of oats. In whole, ninety-one chalders, fifteen bolls, one firlot, two pecks, two lippies.

No mention is made of the numerous casualties. Nor is it probable that the whole revenue, once pertaining to the house, is contained in this account. Great dilapidations had been made upon benefices, not only by powerful laymen, who had seized upon portions of ecclesiastical benefices during the commotions of those times; but also by the popish clergy, who, in the view of a change of religion, had disposed of parts of the revenue.

After the establishment of the reformed religion, James VI., considering himself the proprietor of the church-lands, erected several abbacies and priories into temporal lordships, in behalf of men of interest, or in high favour, who thus came to have the same title to those lands as the religious houses had formerly. As, however, the revenues

of the crown had suffered greatly from those erections, the temporalities of all church-benefices were, by Act of Parliament in 1587, annexed to it. James still continued, notwithstanding, to make new erections; but in 1592, they were, by Parliament, declared null, with the exception of such as had been made in favour of the ennobled members of this body. After the accession of that monarch to the crown of England, the temporality of Cambuskenneth, together with those of the abbey of Dryburgh, and the priory of Inchmahome, was conferred on John, Earl of Mar, son and representative of the late regent of that title; to the end that, in the words of the grant, "he might be in a better condition to provide for his younger sons, by Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of the Duke of Lennox, and a relation of his Majesty." The barony of Cambuskenneth, in which the monastery stood, was settled, by the earl, upon Alexander Erskine of Alva, his brother, whose posterity continued in possession of it till the year 1709, when it was purchased by the town-council of Stirling for the benefit of Cowan's Hospital, to which it still belongs.

The fabric of the Abbey was once large and extensive; but nothing of it now exists, except a few broken walls, and a tower, which was the belfry. Some remains of the garden are to be seen; and the burial-place, where James III. and queen are interred. There is no vestige of

the church. Tradition reports that one of the bells was for some time in the town of Stirling, but that the finest was lost in its passage across the river.

There were belonging to this Abbey the lands of Cambuskenneth, Colling, Bandeath, Carsie, Tullibody, Redinche, the lands of Kettlestone, with mills; lands upon the Forth, between Pullemiln and the road leading down to the ships; tofts at Stirling, Perth, Linlithgow, Haddington, and Renfrew; forty acres, with a toft and mill in Clackmannan; lands at Kinkleven; lands at Kincardine, half a carrucate, with a toft at Crail; half a carrucate, with a meadow at Balcormack; a carrucate at Binning; a carrucate in Kirkintilloch; two ox-gangs in Dunipace; part of the lands of Menstrie; lands at Innerkeithen, Duneglin, and Ayr; Fintilloch in Strathern; of Cambusbarron; Maldar, near Touch; lands, with mills, at Arngask; the lands of Loching, or Greenyards.

The churches, with their tithes and pertinents, belonging to Cambuskenneth, were Clackmannan, with its chapels; Kinkleven, with all its pertinents; Tullicultrie, Kincardine, Glenleafe; Egglis, afterwards called Kirktown, and now known by the name of St. Ninian's, with its chapels of Larbert and Dunipace, and all its other chapels and oratories; Alveth (Alva), Kirkintilloch, Tullibody, with its chapels at Alloa;

Forteviot, Kilmaronock, Kinnoul, Lecroch (probably Lecropt), Arngask.

The patronage likewise of many of these churches belonged to the Abbey. When a church was granted to a monastery, the community drew all the tithes and other emoluments, and appointed a vicar to serve the cure, who had an allowance out of the small tithes. Frequently, no vicar was appointed, and many such churches were left destitute of the means of social worship.

Certain privileges and casualties belonged to Cambuskenneth; fishing with one net in the River Forth between Cambuskenneth and Polmaise; the fishings of Carsie and Tullibody; fishing with one net in the River Clyde near Renfrew; one salt-pan, with the necessary quantity of land about it; the half of the skins and tallow of the beasts slain for the king's use at Stirling; the tenth of all sums paid for obtaining decreets in the courts of Stirling and Calantyr; the kane, or custom of one ship; the tenth of the king's feu-duties of the lordship of Stirling; forty shillings yearly out of the customs of Perth; a common pasturage in Pethcorthing; a merk of silver out of the revenues of Crail; pasturage of five hundred sheep and twenty cows at Binning; the privilege of grazing a certain number of cows at Borland, near Kincardine; the tenth of the feu-duties of Bothkennar, amounting to six chalders of grain, and eight pounds five pence Scots yearly;

an additional chalder of victual out of Bothkennar, by a grant of Sir William More; a pension of a hundred shillings out of the church of Blare; forty shillings out of the king's revenues of Airth, besides the tenth of the feus; ten pounds out of the revenues of Plean; forty shillings out of the revenues of Stirling; twenty *cuderni* of cheeses of the revenues of Stirling; certain privileges in Torwood; the oblations presented to the church of the monastery, without any deduction whatever.

It is not a new observation, that the lands formerly belonging to religious houses are generally fertile. It is a mistake, however, to ascribe this to the designing sagacity of the clergy, as leading them to fix upon the best spots; for they seldom had the choosing of the lands conferred upon them. The donors gave such parts of their estates as they judged proper; and many of those lands are situated in soils far from being naturally fertile. It hence appears that their fertility arose, not from any superior quality of soil, but from industry and cultivation. The monks were skilled in agriculture, and well knew how to turn the donations made them to the best advantage. Meliorations were carried on at the expense of the community; and, at times, the more robust members shared the toils of agriculture with their servants. Useful manual labour commonly filled up the intervals of contemplation and devotion;

nor had they at first degenerated into those vices by which they were so shamefully distinguished in the ages immediately preceding the reformation. Many lands of the regular clergy wear the marks of industry to this day, being generally well laid down, and free of stones. These had been carefully gathered, and are often to be seen in heaps around them. The monastery of Cambuskenneth had a strong agricultural incitement; which, in all probability, extended to the other religious communities. Such lands as they rendered arable at their own expense were exempted from paying tithes to any cathedral, or to any parochial church.

Add to this, that church lands were generally let, at moderate rents, to tenants who were seldom ejected when their leases had expired. Meeting with so great encouragement, and, moreover, being exempted from military services, and other burdens to which the tenants of laymen were subjected, they applied themselves to the cultivation of farms of which they considered themselves as, in some degree, proprietors.

Several abbots over Scotland complied with the reformed religion, and kept possession of their revenues. Nor were such of them as did not conform ejected. Each continued to enjoy a part of his benefice during life, unless he had incurred a forfeiture by misdemeanor. At the death, or forfeiture of an abbot, his possessions were, generally,

either bestowed in pensions upon court favourites, or erected into temporal lordships. The private monks also had an allotment during life, but it was often so ill paid that many of them were reduced to extreme want.

In 1864, a human skeleton was discovered near the site of the high altar of the Abbey, which was believed to be the remains of James III., who, with his consort, was buried here. The ashes, of course, were at once reinterred, and of late an elegant sarcophagus has been erected over the spot by our widowed Queen. The tomb, built of freestone, is about 4 feet 9 inches in height, and 8 feet in length, and has inscriptions cut in raised letters on each side. On the north side is the following:—"This restoration of the tomb of her ancestors was executed by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, A.D. 1865." On the south side are the words—"In this place, near the high altar of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, were deposited the remains of James III., King of Scots, who died on the 11th June, 1488; and of his Queen, the Princess Margaret of Denmark." At the west end the Scottish arms are cut, with the motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit;* and at the east end the Scottish arms are quartered with those of Denmark, and entwined with representations of the thistle.

The west end of the nave of the Abbey has long been used as a graveyard by the inhabitants of

Cambuskenneth and neighbourhood. The entrance to it is by the arch of the original west door, part of which is still entire. With the exception of this arch, however, and the graceful tower, no part of the buildings remains standing. The tower is nearly in the state in which it was at the time of the Reformation, except that the upper part was considerably altered when the Abbey was repaired in 1865.

The Nunnery of Emanuel or Manuel was situated in the south-east border of Stirlingshire, upon the north bank of the Avon, a mile above Linlithgow bridge. But the ruins now consist simply of a portion of the western gable, wrapt in a thick wood-warp of ivy. The fragment, which is of hewn stone, and elegant in its simplicity, contains an arched-door or gateway, with three small Gothic windows over it; and above these a circular one is placed. In 1739, however, the chapel was comparatively entire. There was the eastern gable perfect in form, with a high triple-arched window; also the south wall, which, in addition to a central door, had another close to the eastern gable, with three windows overhead. It is also said that part of the south wall of the nunnery was standing until the beginning of 1788, when, the river having risen to an unusual height, it was swept away by the violence of the flood, with part of the bank that had been used as a cemetery. Luckily, we have all the facts at hand

regarding the history of this relic of monasticism. The Manuel Nunnery, as we find from reliable records, was founded by Malcolm IV., in 1156, and consecrated to the Virgin Mary. It was possessed, too, originally by Cistercian nuns—an order that derived its name from a district in Burgundy called Citeaux, where the first convent of that austere school was founded by one St. Robert, but which was simply an offshoot of the great Benedictine epoch. In 1292, the Prioress Christina swore fealty to Edward I., who, as we learn from a writ of his son, visited "Manewell" on the 24th October, 1301. Alice, Christina's successor, also swore fealty to Edward at Linlithgow, in 1296. Her tomb was to be seen here, some years ago, bearing her figure with a distaff —an unusual instrument in the hands of a prioress. The nunnery had possessions in the shires of Edinburgh and Ayr, as well as in those of Linlithgow and Stirling; and when the list of ecclesiastical revenues was drawn up in 1562, those of Manuel amounted to £52 14s. 8d. Scots, three chalders of bere, seven chalders of meal, with a large quantity of salmon. The graveyard lay immediately beneath the nunnery, close upon a slight bend of the river; but for years the water current has been incessantly washing away the very foundations of the monastic burial-ground.

CONVENT OF DOMINICAN, OR BLACK FRIARS, IN THE TOWN OF STIRLING.

The Dominican order, one of the most considerable in the church of Rome, derived its name from the founder, Dominick Guzman, a native of Spain, and a zealous preacher against the Albigenses, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. He has obtained the appellation of saint; but his memory must ever be held in detestation by Protestants, and every friend of the liberties of mankind, on account of his having been the contriver of the diabolical court of *The Inquisition.*

This order was brought hither in the reign of Alexander II.; and spread with such rapidity, that, in a few years, it was possessed, in Scotland, of above twenty convents. The brethren were not confined to cloisters, as were the greater part of those strictly called monks, but travelled through the country preaching. Hence they came to have the descriptive appellation of *Fratres Prædicatores.* According to the rules of the order, they were to enjoy no earthly possessions, except the spots upon which their convents stood, but to subsist by pure alms; whence they had the demi-contemptuous title of *Mendicants.* Their distinguishing garb was a black cloth thrown over the shoulders. This procured them the familiar name of *Black Friars.*

The Dominican convent at Stirling was founded by Alexander II., in 1233; and stood upon the east side of the lane leading from the present Meal-Market, to the north side of the town, which is still called *Friar's Wynd*, from its vicinity to it. It stood outside the town-wall.

The church belonging to the convent was, for above two hundred and fifty years, the chief place of worship for the inhabitants of the town; and adjoining to it was the common burial-place. Only persons of distinction were buried in the church. Duncan, the aged Earl of Levenax, with his son-in-law, Murdac, Duke of Albany, and Walter and Alexander Stewarts, sons of the duke by Duncan's daughter, were executed upon the Gowling Hill in 1425, and buried in this church, on the south side of the great altar. A person who had personated Richard II., and, under that character, been entertained several years at the courts of Robert III., and of the first regent, Albany, having died in the castle in 1420, was interred at the horn of the great altar. The site both of the convent and burial-place has long been used as a garden, where great quantities of human bones have been often found.

After the battle of Falkirk in 1298, Edward I. advanced to Stirling where he stayed two weeks, taking up his lodgings in the Dominican convent; as Wallace, in his retreat northward, had burned the greater part of the town.

John Rough, an eminent promoter of the Reformation, and a martyr in England under the blood-thirsty Mary, was once a member of this convent. He entered it at seventeen, and having remained sixteen years, was called to be chaplain to the Regent Arran, who, afterwards, renouncing the reformed religion, dismissed Rough, and all who professed to favour the new opinions.

The convent was demolished by those who followed the lords of the congregation, when they came to Stirling in 1559, to disappoint the queen-regent, who intended to have filled the town with a French garrison.

A much greater number of the friars than of the monks embraced the Reformation. This was probably owing to those opportunities of more frequent converse with the world which were fitted to inspire them with more liberal sentiments, as well as to their having fewer possessions.

CONVENT OF FRANCISCANS, OR GREY FRIARS, AT STIRLING.

The Franciscans received their name from Francis, a merchant of Assise in Italy, who founded the order in the beginning of the thirteenth century, an age very fertile in religious orders. These, likewise, were mendicants, professing to possess nothing, but going about barefooted, with wallets upon their backs, craving subsistence. Their habit was a coarse grey gown,

with a string round their waist; whence they had the vulgar name of *Grey Friars.*

The Franciscan convent at Stirling was situated in the higher part of the town, near the present church, which belonged to it. It is difficult, however, to point out the particular spot. It was founded by James IV. in 1494. The church, a stately Gothic fabric, was now erected for the use of the convent; though, in process of time, it became the most frequented place of worship by the inhabitants of the town. This king, although a noted libertine, pretended at times so great devotion, according to the superstitious system of those ages, and often underwent a voluntary penance in his convent, assisting at mass in the choir, and dining in the refectory amongst the brethren. During Lent, too, retiring from all worldly business, he made it his usual residence; and, on Good Friday, he dined on bread and water on bare knees.

This convent, as well as the Dominican, was demolished in 1559, but the church was left untouched; for, though the reformers generally destroyed the monasteries and convents of the regular clergy, as being nurseries of idolatry and superstition, they spared parish churches, as necessary to the maintenance of religion.

At the demolition of these convents, more wealth was found in them than was consistent with their avowed professions of poverty. That

of the Grey Friars at Perth, also pulled down in 1559, was well provided, not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life. The beds and tables were equal in finery to those of the first nobility; and, though there were but eight persons there, and it was the 11th of May, eight puncheons of salt beef, and great store of other victuals were found in it. So great a quantity of salt beef in May, appears surprising, and supposes a very great store to have been laid up in the beginning of winter. We must consider, however, that, in those days, when agriculture had made so little progress, there was no sown grass, and scarcely any hay, straw, or other provender for the subsistence of cattle through the winter; and that families were obliged to slaughter their cattle, and salt them, at the end of autumn, before they had become lean upon the common pasture, and to provide what would be sufficient for domestic demands, till others had time to fatten next summer.

This order was divided into Conventuals, and Observantines. It had been established in 1206; but, in 1419, Bernardine of Sienna reformed it, and his followers, who went barefooted, and without shirts, were, from their strictness, called Observantines. The order had come into Scotland in 1219, and obtained settlements at Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries (the last by favour of Dervorgilla, John Baliol's mother); Dundee (by

Dervorgilla), Haddington, Lanark (by Robert Bruce, 1314), Kirkcudbright, and Innerkeithing. James I. introduced the Observantines. Their first convent was at Edinburgh, founded by the citizens, on the south of the Grassmarket, nearly opposite to the West Bow, in 1446. It was demolished in 1559. Queen Mary had given their goods to the city of Edinburgh in 1566. They had an establishment at St. Andrews, founded by James Kennedy, bishop, and finished by Patrick Graham, archbishop; at Glasgow, by John, bishop, and Thomas Forsyth, rector; and at Aberdeen, about 1450, by the citizens, and Richard Vaus of Many, &c. An extant charter by James III. gives an account of these four Observantine monasteries. A fifth was founded at Ayr, in 1472, by the inhabitants. Here the Virgin Mary's statue was said to work many miracles. A sixth at Perth, in 1460, by Lord Oliphant, in the south of the town, where there is now a burial place. It was destroyed in 1559, and great store of provisions seized on, as John Knox observes, by "the rascal multitude." Others were established at Striveling, by James IV, 1494; at Elgin, by John Innes, in 1479; and at Jedburgh, by the citizens, in 1503, thirty-seven years before John Knox began to preach.

COLLEGIATE CHURCH, OR CHAPEL ROYAL, IN THE CASTLE OF STIRLING.

Besides monasteries and convents, which belonged to the regular clergy, so called because they professed strictly to observe the rules enjoined to their respective orders, there were twenty-six fraternities of secular clergy in Scotland, called colleges, and governed by an ecclesiastic, who went by the name of Provost or Dean. These were endowed with large revenues, which generally arose from the union of several parish churches.

James III., taking up his chief residence in Stirling castle, erected in it a college of secular priests, which he called "*The Chapel Royal.*" This institution consisted of a Dean or Provost, an Arch-dean, a Treasurer and Sub-dean, a Chanter, a Sub-chanter, and other officers belonging to such establishments. He appointed, moreover, a double set of these officers; so that there were sixteen ecclesiastics and six boys belonging to it.

Lindsay of Pitscottie gives a singular reason for doubling these officers; that the one half should be always ready to pass with the king wherever he pleased, to sing and play to him and hold him merry, while the other remained at home in the chapel, to sing and pray for him and his successors. By the half who were to accompany his Majesty for mirth, is undoubtedly

meant the half of the singing boys and musicians, as James is well known to have been fond of music.

As the expenses necessary for maintaining the numerous officers of this institution were very considerable, he annexed to it the revenues of the rich priory of Coldingham in the Merse, for which he obtained the authority of Pope Alexander VI.

In the list of ecclesiastical benefices drawn up in 1562, the revenues of the priory of Coldingham stand as follows:—£808 10s. 9d. Scots; six chalders, seven bolls, three firlots, two pecks of wheat; nineteen chalders, twelve bolls, one firlot, two pecks of bere; fifty-five chalders, four bolls, one firlot oats; one chalder, four bolls, and a firlot of rye; three chalders, thirteen bolls, three firlots, and two pecks of pease.

This annexation proved one cause of the ruin of that unfortunate king. The priory of Coldingham had long been holden by persons connected with the family of Hume; and that family, considering it as belonging to them, strenuously opposed the annexation. The dispute appears to have lasted several years. One parliament had passed a vote, annexing the priory to the Chapel-royal; and a subsequent one enacted a statute prohibiting every attempt prejudicial to that annexation. The Humes, resenting the loss of so gainful a revenue, united themselves with the

Hepburns, another powerful clan in the neighbourhood, under the Lord Hailes; and both families engaged to stand by each other, and not to suffer the revenues of Coldingham to be possessed by any person not connected with one or other. The heads of both, too, with their numerous vassals and retainers, joining the party that was disaffected to James upon other accounts, brought a considerable addition of strength to it, and were pitched upon to lead the van of the malcontent army in the fatal battle of Sauchieburn.

James IV. completed the institution which his father had begun. Notwithstanding the opposition, Coldingham was annexed. That prince added the abbey of Dundrenan in Galloway; the priory of Inchmahome in Monteith; the parsonage of Dunbar; the lands of Cessnock in Ayrshire; the prebends of Spott, Waltame, Dunn, and Pinkerton; the parish churches of Rosneath in the Lennox, Dalmellington, Alloway, Coylton, and Dalrymple, in Ayrshire, Kellie, and Kirkmoir; with other parishes, chapels, and lands, whose annual revenues were valued, in the time of James VI., at a great sum.

The deanery or provostship of this chapel was annexed, first to the provostry of Kirkheugh in St. Andrews, and then to the bishopric of Galloway, the bishops of which were called deans of the king's chapel, and appointed confessors

to the queen. Besides their authority over their dioceses, they possessed an episcopal jurisdiction as deans of the chapel. George Vaus was the first who was advanced to this office, having been Bishop of Galloway at the time of the erection. James VI. annexed the deanery to the bishopric of Dunblane, by Act of Parliament, in 1621.

Besides these large erections, there were many small chapels, oratories, and chantries, in different parts of the county. The places where they stood commonly go by the name of Kirk-crofts or Chapel-lands, and are, for the most part, well cultivated.

The Abbey of Newbottle had considerable possessions in Stirlingshire. David I. made a donation to that monastery of a salt-pan upon the lands of Callanter, with the privilege of fuel and common pasture in the wood of that name. The place where the salt-pan was situated still goes by the name of Salt-Pow. Adam de Morham, who appears to have had a large estate in those parts, granted to the same monastery a tract of land, called the Grange of Bereford, lying upon the south side of the Carron. It is now known as Abbot's Grange, and is included in the parish of Polmont. Here the abbot had a country-seat, some remains of which, together with those of the garden, are still to be seen. Several parcels of land, also, about Kinnaird and

Stenhouse, together with the mills of the latter, belonged to Newbottle.

The Abbey of Holyrood, or *Sancti Crucis*, had likewise possessions in this shire. David I. granted it two ox-gangs of land, with a salt-pan in the parish of Airth. In 1166, the Bishop of St. Andrews made a donation of the church of Falkirk, with some lands in its neighbourhood; while sundry parcels of ground in Kinnaird, and upon the banks of the Carron, eastward of Stenhouse, belonged to the same monastery.

The Knights-templars had possessions in Denny, the Carse of Falkirk, and other parts of this county. Mr. Spottiswood mentions a place called Oggerstone, founded by St. David, where that order had a fort and barony. They were introduced into Scotland by David I., who gave them, among other possessions, Balantrodach, on the South Esk, their chief seat, since known by the names of Temple and Arniston. Alexander II. was their friend; and a charter by him is preserved in transcript, conferring upon them great privileges. They formed various establishments over Scotland, subordinate to Balantrodach. Brianus, *preceptor Templi in Scotia*, swore fealty to Edward I., in Edinburgh Castle, July 1291. John de Sautre, *maistre de la chivalerie de Templi en Ecosse*, did so, August, 1296. Edward commanded the sheriffs of Scotland to restore the property of the Templars. They had an establish-

ment at St. Germains, in East Lothian ; others at Inchinnan in Renfrewshire, at Maryculter in Kincardineshire, at Aboyne and Tulich in Aberdeenshire, and elsewhere. They had a small house at Mount Hooly on the burgh-moor of Edinburgh. In digging a cemetery there, several skeletons were found lying cross-legged, with their swords by their sides, after the manner of their order, and indeed of military men connected nearly or distantly with the Holy Land. The Templars had a number of houses in Edinburgh and Leith, on which they displayed the cross of their order. They were suppressed, by a general council held by Pope Clement V., at Vienne in France, in 1312, and their estates and property transferred to the rival order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had their chief seat at Torphichen in West-Lothian, and whose existence terminated in 1563, when their whole lands, converted into a temporal lordship, were, by Queen Mary, bestowed upon their preceptor, Sir James Sandilands.

CHAPTER VIII.

BATTLE OF STIRLING.

THE extinction of the royal line of Scotland, by the death of Alexander III., who was killed in the prime of life, by a fall from his horse, at Kinghorn, in March, 1285, created such confusion as brought the kingdom to the very brink of ruin. At that time lived Thomas Learmont of Earlston, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, on account of his unintelligible rhapsodies, which are extant. Many strange stories are told of him, and among others the following. Having been asked by the Earl of March, the day before the king's death, what sort of weather the next day would produce, he replied, "Before to-morrow at noon, such a tempest shall blow, as Scotland has not felt for many years." Next forenoon had proved remarkably fine, and the Earl said to him, "Learmont, thou art a false prophet." He answered, "Noon is not yet over." Meanwhile, an express arrived, to inform the Earl of his Majesty's death. "This is the tempest I have foretold," quoth the Rhymer, "and so it shall prove to Scotland."

The next heir to the crown was a princess, scarcely three years of age, grandchild of the late king, by his daughter, who had been married to the King of Norway. This infant, commonly called the Maiden of Norway, was immediately acknowledged as queen by the States, who at the same time established a regency for the management of affairs during her minority. Her death, in 1290, threw the kingdom into a general consternation, and left the succession altogether perplexed. The history of the different competitors for the empty throne, upon this occasion, is foreign to our purpose. John Baliol and Robert Bruce, grandfather of the future monarch of this name, were generally allowed to stand foremost in the list; but, as it admitted of dispute to which of them the preference belonged, they both agreed, with the consent of the Scottish nobility, to refer the decision of it to Edward, king of England. A malicious policy, which in all ages has too much guided the councils of princes, suggested to that monarch that he had now in his hands the most favourable opportunity of gratifying his ambition. Instead, therefore, of acting the part of a fair arbiter, he sought to avail himself of the present distracted state of a free people to enslave them. He called in question the independency of Scotland; pretending that that kingdom was a fief of his crown, and subjected to all the conditions of a feudal tenure. Each com-

petitor, with a spirit truly mean, acknowledged his claim; as did also many subjects of the greatest distinction. Having thus established his paramount power over Scotland, he decided in favour of Baliol; who instantly did homage, and swore fealty to him as his liege-lord. Bruce, although he did not cordially acquiesce in the sentence, was incapable of making any successful opposition. Edward, however, found his new vassal not so pliant as he had expected. Baliol, either ashamed of a pusillanimity by which he had lost the affection and confidence of his subjects, or sensibly galled by the oppressive yoke wreathed about his neck, began to attempt a more spirited behaviour; though the general tenor of his conduct savoured of a feeble and imprudent mind. After having repeatedly discovered a failure of respect to his rigid and imperious lord, he at length expressly renounced his allegiance, and made some feeble exertions to establish his own independence. This so provoked the haughty mind of Edward that he immediately proceeded to every act of tyrannical rage. He invaded Scotland with a numerous army, and after having defeated Baliol at Dunbar, he forced him to a formal surrender of himself and kingdom, and then shut him up in the Tower of London. He filled the garrisons with English soldiers, and carried many of the nobility south, where they were detained as securities for the peaceable be-

haviour of the rest. He required all ranks to swear fealty to him; and the names of those who upon that occasion professed submission, amounting to an amazing number, were inserted in what, from the poverty of many who signed it, has been called "the Ragman Roll." This curious catalogue is preserved in the Tower of London, and was published by Prynne, keeper of the records there. The facility with which so many of the Scots were induced to take repeated oaths of fealty to Edward, which they intended to break upon the first favourable opportunity, is perhaps to be ascribed not so much to necessity, and the influence of superior force, as to the genius of that popular creed which sapped all the foundations of morality, and proclaimed a license to crimes, by establishing the delusive doctrine of absolution for a small pecuniary consideration. It ought, however, in candour, to be stated, that this abominable casuistry has not, in practice, been confined to the Papal period. Mr. Wodrow says of a similar roll, "I find it said that many of these who signed the bond" of allegiance, after the battle of Bothwell-bridge, "did it under the thoughts, that their rising was not against his Majesty's authority, and, consequently, that it did not bind them up from any such appearance, when occasion offered again." Prynne, who, indeed, is a special pleader, and, in the title-page of his voluminous work, is styled "a Bencher

and Reader of Lincoln's Inn," diffusely displays a laudable indignation at the apostacy of those who had signed the Ragman Roll. "All these abbots," says he, "abbesses, priors, parsons, friars, earls, lords, knights, citizens, burgesses, communalities in Scotland, in the Parliament held at Berwick, by their joynt and several deeds, under their respective seals, dated at Berwick, the 24th day of August in the 24th year of the reign of Edward I.," are here inserted to "evidence to the Scottish nation, their most execrable perjury, treachery, disloyalty to King Edward, in revolting from, confederating with, and adhering to the French kings, rebelling against Edward and his posterity, kings of England, soon after these their most solemn doubled, yea trebled abjurations, oaths, homages, leagues, covenants, ratified with their respective publicke and private deeds and seals to the contrary, recorded in these rolls to all posterity." Amid the general want of patriotism among the Scots at this melancholy epoch, we find two priests who had the boldness to excommunicate Edward before his whole army. "At a goal delivery at Striveling, on Thursday, the first of the feast of St. Michael, 24 Ed. I. (1296), Thomas, chaplain of Edinburgh, was attached, for that he had publicly excommunicated Edward, our Lord the king, by bell and candle, before the army, in despite of our Lord the king; and also Richard

Tulle was attached, for that he had rung the bell on that occasion in contempt of the king. They were both afterwards delivered to the Archdeacon of Loves.

Edward having seized the public archives, and getting possession of many historical monuments proving the antiquity and freedom of Scotland, was the means of their destruction. He also appointed a lieutenant, with other officers of state, in that kingdom, and settled the government of it as if it had been a province of England.

The Scottish nation were partly so blind to their interest, partly so intimidated, that, at first, they silently acquiesced in Edward's claims, and beheld the various acts of his oppressive usurpation, without making any vigorous attempts to preserve their independence. At length, a patriot hero stept forth to stem the tide of foreign tyranny and assert the liberties of his country. This was the renowned Sir William Wallace, second son of Malcolm Wallace, of Elderslie, near Paisley, by his wife, who was a daughter of Ronald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr. He was a man of great sagacity of mind, and uncommon bodily strength. He had beheld, with deep concern, the fetters worn by his countrymen; and had the honour of being the first who rekindled the almost extinguished spark of liberty among them. His first appearance was in no higher a character than that of volunteer for the freedom of his country. In his mouth he

had often the following monkish couplet, composed by his uncle, who was pastor of Dunipace:

> "Dico tibi verum, libertas est optima rerum.
> Nunquam servili sub nexu vivite, fili."

Having communicated his sentiments to a few friends, he found them animated by the same spirit, and equally disdainful of the claims of England. An illustrious fraternity was soon formed, with the laudable view of delivering Scotland from thraldom, and restoring her independence. And, although they had not the sanction of public authority, the circumstances of the nation sufficiently vindicate their conduct. The premature death of Margaret of Norway had prevented the much-to-be-wished-for union of the two kingdoms upon the honourable, and, in some degree, equal terms of matrimonial connexion. And now, while reaping the fruits of a union which was accomplished some centuries after, we are the better in a condition to perceive the force and beauty of the poet's sentiments put into the mouth of the heroine of an exquisite drama whose scene is Stirlingshire, and period the eleventh century. The extract is from the play of "Douglas," by Home.

> "War I detest; but war with foreign foes,
> Whose manners, language, and whose looks are strange,
> Is not so horrid, nor to me so hateful
> As that which with our neighbours oft we wage.

A river here, there an ideal line
By Fancy drawn, divides the Sister-Kingdoms;
On each side dwells a People, similar
As twins are to each other, valiant both—
Both for their valour famous through the world.
Yet will they not unite their kindred arms,
And, if they must have war, wage distant war;
But with each other fight in cruel conflict.
Gallant in strife, and noble in their ire,
The battle is their pastime. They go forth
Gay, in the morning, as to summer-sport:
When evening comes, the glory of the morn
(The youthful warrior) is a clod of clay.
Thus fall the prime of either hapless land!
And such the fruit of Scotch and English wars!"

Wallace, having the direction of this association, began the execution of his designs by attacking and cutting off such small bodies of the English as he found traversing the country. He next proceeded to attack their forts, and carried many of them by storm. Frequent exploits soon rendered his name conspicuous; and every advantage gave new spirits to his little band, and encouraged others to join him, till, at length, he found himself at the head of a considerable army.

He had not, indeed, the happiness of seeing his patriotic design so generally supported as it deserved. His feats, however, though not crowned with final success, preserved the spirit of liberty, and paved the way to that independence, which the nation, not long after his death, obtained.

Sundry places in Stirlingshire are still memorable for having been the scenes of this hero's exploits. Torwood was a place where he and his party, when engaged in any expedition in this part of the country, often held their rendezvous, and to which they retreated in the hour of danger. At Gargunnock the English had a small fort called "the Peel," in which a garrison was stationed, to watch the passage of the Forth at the ford of Frew, in its neighbourhood. Wallace, with a small party, attacking this fort, carried it by storm. The same success attended him in an assault upon the tower of Airth, which was garrisoned by English soldiers, whom he put to the sword.

Edward was then in France, waging war on that nation. He sent over a very express commission to John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey and Sussex, whom he had appointed lieutenant in Scotland, and Hugh Cressingham, the treasurer, to suppress the Scottish insurrection. They raised an army of 50,000 foot, besides 1,000 horse, and advanced towards Stirling in quest of Wallace, then in the north, and engaged in reducing the English fortresses. Having obtained timeous intelligence of the formidable armament advancing against him, he quickly collected an army of 10,000; and, with great celerity, marched southward, to dispute the passage of the Forth.

When the English had come in sight of Stir-

ling, they beheld the Scottish army posted near Cambuskenneth, on a hill now known by the name of the Abbey-Craig. The two armies continued some time in full view of each other, on opposite banks of the river. The English generals sent two Dominican friars to offer peace to Wallace and his followers, upon their submission. Wallace replied that the Scots had come thither to fight, not to treat; and that their country's freedom was the great object they had in view, and what they were prepared to defend. He concluded by challenging the English to advance. His answer so provoked the hostile commanders, that they immediately prepared to cross the river and attack the Scots.

The bridge across the Forth was then of timber, and stood at Kildean, half-a-mile above the present bridge. Some remains of the stone-pillars which supported the wooden beams, are still to be seen. Though this bridge was so narrow that only two persons abreast could pass it, the English generals proposed to transport along it their numerous army. One Lunday, however, strenuously opposed the measure; and pointed out a neighbouring ford, where they could easily pass sixty abreast. He had suspected a snare from Wallace, whose genius he knew to be very fertile in stratagems, and sagacity too great to risk a battle with so small a handful of men, without having made some unseen preparations

to compensate the vast inequality of numbers. No regard, however, was paid to Lunday's opinion. The event soon showed how just it was.

The English army continued to cross by the bridge, from the dawn till eleven o'clock, without any impediment. Now, indeed, the Scots had advanced to attack those who had got across; and they had also sent a strong detachment to stop the passage. This they effected; and caused so great a confusion amongst the English, that many upon the bridge, in attempting to return, were precipitated into the water and drowned.

Some writers affirm that the wooden fabric suddenly gave way by the weight, or rather by a stratagem of Wallace, who, guessing that the enemy would pass that way, had ordered the main beam to be sawn so artfully, that the removal of a single wedge should cause the downfall of the whole erection; and had stationed a man beneath it in a basket, in such a manner, as that, unhurt himself, he could execute the design upon a signal, viz., the blowing of a horn by the Scottish army.

By this means, numbers fell into the river; and those who had passed were vigorously attacked by Wallace. They fought for a while with great bravery, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Twenge, an officer of noted courage and experience. The Scots at first made a feint of retreat-

ing; but, soon facing about, gave the enemy a vigorous onset, whilst a party, who had taken a compass round the Abbey Craig, fell upon the rear. The English were at last entirely routed, and five thousand of them slain; amongst whom was a nephew of Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a youth of great hopes, whose death was generally lamented. Sir Marmaduke, with the rest falling back to the river, crossed it with much difficulty. Some finding fords, plunged through with great precipitation, and others escaped by swimming.

Cressingham was amongst the slain, having early passed the bridge in full confidence of victory. He was an ecclesiastic; but, as in those times, it was common for such to possess civil offices, he had been advanced by Edward to that of High Treasurer in Scotland. His rapine and oppression had rendered him very detestable. The Scots, however, disgraced their victory, by their treatment of his corpse. They flayed off the skin, and cut it in pieces, to make girths and other furniture for their horses.

The battle of Stirling was fought on the 13th of September, 1297. The scene of action appears to have been about the place now called Corntown, and in a plain north of the river, opposite to the castle. It was the most complete victory that Wallace had ever gained in a regularly fought field. Nor was his loss considerable. Sir

Andrew Moray of Bothwell was the only person of note amongst the slain.

The Earl of Surrey, who, with the rest of the English army, was upon the south side of the river, beholding this disaster, immediately retreated southward, after having set fire to the remains of the bridge, to prevent a quick pursuit from the victorious Scots. He was greatly harassed, however, in his march by the Lord High Steward, and the Earl of Lennox, who came upon him from behind the neighbouring mountains, where, with a large force, they had been posted in ambush. Wallace, too, having speedily crossed, soon joined them; and coming up with the main body of the retreating army at Torwood, commenced a sharp action. The Scots obtained the victory, and Surrey himself escaped with great difficulty, being so closely pursued, that the historians of those times have been careful to inform us, that, when he had reached Berwick, his horse was so fatigued as to be unable to eat.

This signal victory so raised the fame of Wallace, and struck the English with such terror, that they yielded up their forts, as soon as he had appeared before them. In a few months, all the places of strength in the kingdom were recovered, and scarce an Englishman was to be seen in the country.

The Scots, also, looking upon the brave Sir William as the deliverer of their country, crowded

to his standard; and an assembly of the States chose him to be general of the army, and protector of the kingdom, under Baliol, who was still in a state of confinement. This high office he executed with great dignity, though not without much envy and malevolent opposition from several of the chief nobility. He found, however, as many among the middle ranks, friends of liberty, as not only supported him in the internal government of the kingdom, but enabled him to penetrate into England.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST BATTLE OF FALKIRK.

THE news of this northern revolution caused Edward speedily to listen to proposals of a truce made him by France, that he might have leisure to reduce Scotland. Instantly on his arrival in England, he assembled a numerous and well-disciplined army, amounting, according to the common accounts, to above 80,000 foot, besides a fine body of cavalry, most of them veteran troops, newly brought over from the French war. He marched northward at their head, having under him, as general officers, Bohun, Earl of Hereford, High Constable of England; Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Chief Marshal, the Earl of Lincoln, and Antonius de Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham. This numerous host arrived at Temple-Liston, now known by the name of Kirkliston, two miles south of Queensferry, where they encamped, and abode near a month, waiting for the arrival of ships, which had been appointed to attend them with provisions, but were detained by contrary winds. The

Scots were, meanwhile, making vigorous preparations for defence. An army of 30,000 collected by Wallace and other chiefs, rendezvoused near Falkirk, waiting for the enemy. They had chosen their ground in a situation apparently advantageous, with a morass, impassable by cavalry, in front, and, where the morass ended, a sort of fortification, with palisadoes driven into the earth, and tied together with ropes.

The scarcity of provisions had become so great in Edward's army, that he had thoughts of returning to Edinburgh; but, receiving intelligence that the Scottish army had taken post within six leagues of his camp, he resolved to attempt a decisive stroke, and ordered the troops, hungry and hard bestead as they were, to march forward with the greatest celerity. Setting out, accordingly, from Kirkliston at three in the afternoon, they arrived at Linlithgow that evening, and encamped on the east of the town, on ground part of which still remains in its uncultivated state, and is known by the name of Burgh-Moor. As the tents and baggage had been left in the former camp, the army, including the king, lay all night on the bare ground. Nor had the horses any provender, except the furze and grass of the moor. The English contemporary historians mention an accident which that night befell their sovereign. As he lay fast asleep, a horse, trampling upon him, broke two of his ribs. Con-

cealing his anguish, however, he mounted at daybreak, and led the army through the town. They had no sooner passed Linlithgow, than they descried, on the hills of Muiravonside, several bodies of armed men, whom they took for the Scottish army. They marched up in battle array to attack them. Upon their arrival, it was found that the Scots had retired, having been only the outposts and scouting parties, who, upon the approach of the enemy, had fallen back to the main body at Falkirk.

Reaching the summit of the hills, the whole English army halted till the Bishop of Durham had said mass. It was the 22nd of July, and St. Magdalen's day. They now observed the Scottish army two miles off, forming in order of battle upon a gentle eminence near Falkirk. When mass was ended, the king proposed that the army should take some refreshment. The troops, however, would listen to no delay, but insisted on being led forward to action. Edward consented, in the name of the Holy Trinity.

The English advanced to the charge in three great bodies. The first was led by the Earl Marshal and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; the second by the Bishop of Durham, with whom Sir Ralph Basset de Drayton was joined in command; and the third, which was probably intended as a *corps de reserve*, was commanded by Edward in person. The Scottish army also stood

in three divisions, commanded by as many leaders, who, besides Wallace, were John Cumyn of Badenoch and Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother of the High Steward of Scotland. English writers say that there were four bodies of the Scots, each drawn up in the form of an orb, with their spears advanced horizontally, as the most effectual defence against a numerous cavalry; that the intervals between the orbs were planted with archers; and that a small body of cavalry was stationed behind the rest of the army.

Hitherto the Scottish leaders had acted with apparent unanimity. An obstinate dispute, however, arose about the chief command, which each now claimed as his right—Wallace, as guardian of the kingdom; Cumyn, because allied to the crown, and having a numerous vassalage; and Stewart, as supplying the place of his brother the Lord High Steward. We are not informed how the ill-timed dispute was ended. Each, probably, continued to exercise an independent command over the body he had brought into the field. It is commonly asserted that Cumyn was so irritated because the supreme command was not decreed to him, that he marched his ten thousand off the field, without fighting; and that only Wallace and Stewart, with their divisions, remained to receive the enemy, who approached in a highly martial style.

The first line of the English, led on by the Earl

Marshal and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln, advanced with great ardour; but, not having reconnoitred the ground, were somewhat retarded by the morass in front of the Scots. Turning a little to the left, however, they found firm ground, along which they charged. The Bishop of Durham, who, with Sir Ralph Basset, commanded the second line, perceiving the morass, turned to the right, and made a circuit; but, more nearly inspecting the warlike posture of the Scots, he proposed to stop until the third division, commanded by the king, had advanced. Delay, however, did not suit Basset's ardour, who insisted that the troops should instantly charge, and called out to the bishop, "Go to mass, if you please, and we shall conduct the *military* operations of the day." They advanced, accordingly, and charged the left wing of the Scots almost at the moment Bigod had charged the right.

The Scots made so brave a resistance, that the English cavalry, who were now chiefly employed, could not, for some time, make any impression upon their ranks. Supported, however, by the infantry, who, advancing, poured terrible showers of arrows among them, the horsemen, attacking them with their lances, at last threw them into great disorder. The division commanded by Stewart was surrounded, and, after a gallant defence, mostly cut to pieces, together with their leader, who was mortally wounded, and fell

from his horse while giving orders to a company of archers. Wallace, for some time, stood his ground, against the whole power of the enemy, with amazing intrepidity; till Robert Bruce, who, with a body of cavalry, had taken a circuit round a hill, was ready to fall upon his rear. This obliged him to begin a retreat, which he accomplished, with great valour and military skill, to the Carron. He crossed the river, in view of the victorious army, at a ford near Arthur's Oven.

Such is the account which the generality of the Scottish writers give of Wallace's behaviour. There are not wanting, however, some who represent it very differently. These tell us, that, in the recent altercation about the post of honour, much opprobrious language had passed between Stewart and Wallace. Stewart is said to have upbraided his friend with aspiring to a dignity far above his rank; and compared him to the owl in the fable, who, having dressed herself with borrowed feathers, affected not only a beauty above her kind, but a dominion over the whole winged tribe. Wallace, it is added, was so irritated, that he led off his ten thousand to Callendar Wood, where they stood idle spectators of the combat. Thus, as Cumyn also had gone, none remained to oppose the advancing foe, except Stewart, who resolved to devote himself for his country, and, with the greater part of his division, perished. Nor, according to this ac-

count, could Wallace be prevailed upon, by all the entreaties of Sir John Graham, and the other officers, to interfere for Stewart's relief. At last, indeed, he began to reflect upon the danger in which, by giving way to passion, he had involved himself; and, perceiving that the only alternative now left was, either tamely to yield himself up to the victorious army, or cut his way through them to Torwood, he resolved to attempt the latter, and, by many signal exertions of courage, and great slaughter of the enemy, succeeded.

This account, although it leaves him in full possession of his valour, and other military talents, entirely strips him of his patriotism, and represents him sacrificing the public interest to private passion. It brings to mind the brutal Achilles refusing to fight for his country because he had quarrelled with Agamemnon. It is utterly irreconcileable with Hemingford's narrative, which places the English army, immediately before the battle, almost upon the same ground which this account makes Wallace occupy.

That an unhappy difference had arisen between the Scottish leaders, before the battle, cannot be denied. Nor is it easy to conceive what could have induced the Scottish writers to fabricate a tale so dishonourable to Wallace, generally their favourite. The most plausible method of conciliating this account with that by the English historians, is to suppose that the dispute had

happened the day before; and that, if Wallace had carried his resentment so far as to retire, yet, afterwards relenting, he had joined the army. In this case, it might have been his division that the English saw upon the heights west of Linlithgow, and which, upon their approach, fell back to the main body at Falkirk. Fordun expressly says, that Cumyn forsook the rest of the leaders; and in Goodal's edition of that author, there is no mention of any dispute between Wallace and Stewart; but in the various readings it is intimated, that, in Hearn's manuscript, the loss of the battle is ascribed to the jealousy and pride of two of the Scottish commanders.

Bruce pursued Wallace to the river; and like one of the ancient warriors, loudly called out to him, as he stood upon the opposite bank, to grant him a private interview. The other assented; when each, walking to a place where the channel was narrow, and the banks very steep, stood, with the stream between them, and held a conference that opened Bruce's eyes to a just view of his interest, and that of his country. He had represented to Wallace the madness of taking up arms against so powerful a monarch, and charged him with having a view to the crown. The other replied, with great warmth, that he utterly abhorred such views; and that the welfare of his country was the sole motive by which he was animated. He concluded by telling Bruce that

he had brought much misery upon his country, and been altogether blind to his own interests, in siding with the English. This conference sank deep into the mind of Bruce, and convinced him of the foolish part he had hitherto acted.

The loss of the Scots was very great; and seemed to threaten inevitable ruin to their land. We are not to give credit, however, to the exaggerated relations of the English writers, some of whom make the number of slain amount to fifty or sixty thousand, besides a great many prisoners. The Scottish writers generally state the loss at above ten thousand, amongst whom, besides the valiant Sir John Stewart of Bonkill in Berwickshire, was Sir John Graham of Dundaff in Stirlingshire, who, for courage and military skill, was reckoned next to Wallace, and commonly styled by that hero his "*Right Hand.*" To the English it was a dear bought victory. Nor was it very glorious. An army of veteran, well marshalled troops had fought one almost thrice inferior to them in numbers, and chiefly composed of raw undisciplined peasants, whose leaders had been so divided by ill-timed altercation as not fairly to co-operate. Although, perhaps, we are not to give entire credit to the Scottish accounts, which make the victor's loss amount to thirty thousand, yet he certainly lost a great number. Particular notice is taken of the Master of the Knights-templars in England, and of the Master of the

same order in Scotland, together with a Templar of great renown, Frere Brianjay, whose horse, happening to stick fast in the mud, had exposed its rider to a mortal wound.

The scene of this bloody rencounter lies about midway between Falkirk and the Carron. Hemingford, the English monk, who had his information from eye-witnesses, has given the most particular account extant of the motions and allocations of both armies. He says, what we have already mentioned, that the English halted upon heights, a good way westward from Linlithgow, till mass had been said by the Bishop of Durham; that they there observed the Scottish army forming in order of battle, upon a gentle eminence near Falkirk; and that there was a small rivulet between the two armies, when thus situated.

The heights upon which the English halted could be no other than those west of Maddiston, and south of Callendar Wood; and the rivulet none else than Westquarter Burn, which, though small, has such steep and rugged banks, that cavalry could not have conveniently passed.

The eminence upon which the Scots were drawn up must have been the ridge of ground east of Mungal, and which is distinctly seen from the heights of Callendar; what cannot be said of any other eminence in the near neighbourhood of Falkirk. Our historian informs us, that, in front of

the Scots, there lay a morass, having firm ground at either end. This slough, which terminated at the north end of the Terrace Plantation, is still visible, running along the south side of the above-mentioned eminence, and intersected by the Forth and Clyde Canal. It is known by the name of Mungal Bog. It exactly answers the description given by Hemingford, who calls it "*lacus bituminosus*," undoubtedly meaning a peat-bog. Add to this, that tradition is uniform in pointing out the fields in the neighbourhood, as the scene of the action; and that, closely adjoining to this morass, there is a tract of ground called Graham's Moor, from the brave Sir John de Graham, who fell on this memorable occasion. At the east end of the bog, we find Brian's Ford, or, as it is now pronounced, Bainsford, supposed to have received its name from Brianjay, the knight-templar, who was slain there.

Robert Bruce, according to Fordun, had made a circuit round a long hill, to attack his more patriotic countrymen in the rear. His route must have been westward, along the hollow in which Westquarter Burn runs; and then on, by Roughcastle, and Caermuirs.

No monuments are to be seen near the field; but, on the summit of a hill, a mile south-east of Callendar Wood, a stone is erected, well known in the neighbourhood by the name of *Wallace's Stone*, and a little to the east, is a tract of ground called

Wallace's Ridge. Common tradition reports, that the stone is erected where Wallace, incensed by Stewart's opprobrious language, had stood, an idle spectator of the battle, and that his soldiers were posted on the above-mentioned ridge. If this was more stone, however, has any reference to that hero, it probably erected where he had taken post before the battle; and, as the place can be seen from Linlithgow, we may reason that it was possibly the corps under his command which the English had thence descried. On the north side of the stone is inscribed, "Hic stetit, 11 die August, A.D. 1298"; while on that facing the south, "Erected to the memory of that celebrated Scottish hero, Sir William Wallace, 3rd August, 1810." The original slab, which was 3 feet high, 18 inches broad, and 3 inches thick, stood a short distance to the west.

In the old churchyard of Falkirk, lie the remains of Sir John de Græme, of Dundaff, the bosom friend of Wallace. Surrounding the four blocks of stone over his grave there is now a cast-iron railing, surmounted by a Gothic cupola, and which unites in the centre with a gilded coronet and the Scottish lion rampant. North and south is the family crest, with the words "Ne oubliez"; east and west, a shield with the motto, "Virtus vivit post funera." On the topmost of the grave-stones may be read the following Scottish inscription:—

"Heir lyes Sir John the Grame, baith wight and wise,
Ane of the cheefs who reskewit Scotland thrise;
Ane better knight not to the world was lent
Nor was gude Grame, of truth and hardiment."

Below, on a raised tablet, are also the Latin lines:—

"Mente manuque potens et Vallæ fidvs Achates,
Conditur hic Gramvs, bello interfectvs ab Anglis.
22 Julii anno 1298."

Or literally—"Here lies Græme, strong alike in head and hand. The faithful friend of Wallace. He was slain in battle by the English, 22nd July, 1298."

When Cromwell's soldiers were here, one of the officers, who was anxious to know the "meaning" of the above, was, however, furnished with the following translation by James Livingstone, the parish schoolmaster:—

"Of mind and courage stout,
Wallace's true Achates,
Here lies John the Grame,
Felled by the English baties."

There is another edition of it in "Watson's Historical Collection," London, 1657:—

"Here lies the gallant Graham,
Wallace's true Achates,
Who cruelly was murdered
By the English baties."

The word "batie," signifying dog, seems to

have been contemptuously aimed at the "Roundheads."

Over the tombstone there has lately been fixed a well-executed casting of the two-handed sword used by the hero on his last war-field. The following are its inscriptions:—On one side of the blade, "Casting of the sword used by Sir John de Græme at the battle of Falkirk, 22nd July, 1298;" and, on the other side, "Cast at Falkirk ironworks, 3rd May, 1869, from the original in the possession of the Auchterarder, No. 46, Lodge of Freemasons." The length of the sword over all is now 5 feet 4 inches, and of the blade 4 feet. But as it was originally 6 inches longer, the extreme length, at one time, would be 5 feet 10 inches.

It may be permitted to subjoin a few Latin verses in memory of Græme, by a Scottish poet of the seventeenth century—John Johnston; more especially as the printed work whence they are transcribed is scarce:—

"Joannes Græmus eques, omnium laborum Vallæ socius, occidit ad Varium Sacellum, 1298. Vallam alloquitur.

Me tibi do, Valla socium bellique laborumque;
Accipe me in numerum nunc quoque magne tuum.
Eheu! præcipites ruimus discordibus armis,
In diversa trahunt ambitio, ira, dolus.
Te sequor usque, libens hæc tecum pignora dextræ,
Hancque animam patriæ do voveoque meæ.
Nec dixisse satis, quin hæc mea pectora morti
Offero. Scis, nostrum haud dicere sed facere."

Another brave soldier sleeping here is Sir John Stewart, of Bonkill. A plain, coffin-shaped block of stone, however, is all that marks his grave. Inscribed on its rugged face are the words—"Here lies a Scottish hero, Sir John Stewart, who was killed at the battle of Falkirk, 22nd July, 1298." It is supposed that the body lies a few feet to the south or west of the present position of the stone.

Wallace, after his conference with Bruce, visited the remains of his mangled army, which had halted at Torwood. He then retired towards Perth; burning the town of Stirling, and laying the country waste, to distress the enemy for want of provisions, should he attempt to pursue.

Arriving at Perth, he resigned his office of Protector, dismissed his army, and returned to private life. We have few certain accounts of him subsequently. He was, some years afterwards, arrested by Sir John Monteath of Ruskie, and delivered by him into the hands of Edward, who put him to death in London, on the 23rd of August, 1305, in a manner so cruel as to reflect the utmost disgrace upon that monarch. His defence against the charge of high treason was, that he was not the born subject of the English king; nor had he sworn allegiance to him, but, unshackled by engagement, had levied war in support of his country's freedom. The following

lines in praise of Wallace, as hero and patriot, are by the Scottish poet recently quoted :—

"Gulielmus Vallas, custos regni post Alexandrum III., occidit Londini a suis proditus 1305.

Robore, mente, animis ingens, ingentior ausis,
Quem tibi quem dederint sæcula prisca parem ?
Romani arma gerunt, subnixi viribus orbis :
Vires, arma, orbis dextera sola tua.
Nil non pro patria geris, et pro te hæc nihil unquam ;
Illi cuncta sibi pro patria in patriam
Fata ferunt secum : fatis tu fervidus instas :
Imperium his, tibi sors destinat invidiam,
Quod neque Mars unquam potuit, neque callidus hostis,
Viribus ille suis, fraudibus iste suis ;
At, scelus O ! potuit gens hoc malefida tuorum !
Sic vixti, et fatis immoreris patriæ."

Four days after the battle, Edward advanced to Stirling, which he found in ruins. Taking up his abode in the convent of Dominicans, he stayed there two weeks, and from thence sent a detachment in pursuit of the Scots as far as Perth, which they found also burned. After planting a strong garrison in the castle, he returned southward ; for, notwithstanding his victory, his army was so shattered, and provisions so scanty, that he saw it necessary to march home with all speed. His route was by Falkirk to Abercorn, and thence to Carlisle, through the forest of Selkirk, which appears to have then extended over the greater part of the south of Scotland.

A number of entertaining incidents are told of the battle; a few of which we shall subjoin. Wallace made the following very short and simple speech to his soldiers:—"There is Edward. Run if you can." During the retreat, he kept in the rear with 300 of his best cavalry, and performed many valorous acts in repelling the pursuers. He kept a constant eye upon such as were the most forward in the pursuit, cut off many of them, and among others, the Knight-templar Brianjay. Wallace and Bruce once encountered. The combat was terrible, and brings to our remembrance the rencounters of Homer's warriors. Wallace, at a stroke, broke the other's spear, and, at a second, cut off his horse's head. To apologise for the romantic appearance of such feats, we are told, that the strength of this hero was equal to that of four ordinary men; and that nothing was proof against his sword, one blow of which, when it had chanced to hit fair, never failed to cleave both head and shoulders.

When the retreating army had arrived at the Carron, the flowing tide made them suddenly halt. At the call, however, of their leader, still employed in repelling the pursuers, they entered the river, and keeping close together, got all safe through. Honourable mention is made of Wallace's horse. Covered with wounds, and spear-heads sticking in his flesh, the generous

quadruped had just strength sufficient to carry his master across the river, and then instantaneously expired.

Some accounts mention a second conference of Bruce with Wallace, as having taken place at the chapel of Dunipace, the morning after the battle. They speak of a jest also, passed upon Bruce, and co-operating with Wallace's reasoning to alienate his affections from the English. At a repast in the evening of the battle, an English officer seeing much blood upon Bruce's clothes, and some of it mingling with the morsel he was putting into his mouth, said, "See the Scot eating his blood," which Robert considered a *double entendre.*

But, according to Mr. Chalmers, Robert, the future King of Scotland, was not in the battle of Falkirk. He had, indeed, repeated on the sword of Becket, at Carlisle, the oath he had taken at Berwick, to be faithful to Edward. Soon after, however, he had joined the Scottish army; and, with some other principal men, felt the necessity of yielding to the English commander, five weeks before the battle of Stirling. Wallace resented what he thought pusillanimous, and made Bruce give surety for his good behaviour. When Edward had invaded Scotland in 1298, he summoned Bruce to attend him; but in vain. Nor did Bruce join Wallace, whatever might have been his inclination; but he kept garrison in Ayr

Castle, whilst his friends were fighting at Falkirk. As Mr. Fordun, who flourished under Robert II., and is the most faithful of the old Scottish historians, has asserted Robert Bruce's presence in this battle, and specified several of his actions there, it is concluded by the writer of that monarch's life in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, that it was the elder Bruce, who was then alive. Such, indeed, is possible.

CHAPTER X.

BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

EDWARD II. kept up the same claim upon the kingdom of Scotland which his father had begun; and, after several unsuccessful attempts to establish it, he resolved to make a great effort, and, with one blow, entirely to reduce a nation that, by its turbulence, had given such trouble to his father and himself. Having borrowed considerable sums from his monasteries, to defray the expenses of so important an expedition, he assembled, in the spring of 1314, the most numerous army that had ever crossed the borders, composed of different nations, and amounting to above 100,000 effective men, besides a huge multitude of attendants, who came in the hope of sharing in the plunder. Historians inform us that this vast host was composed not only of all the crown-vassals in England, Ireland, and Wales, with their military tenants, who, in consequence of a summons, attended their sovereign; but of great numbers of foreign troops who had been transported from Flanders, and all the English pro-

vinces in France, besides many Scots who were disaffected to Bruce, and men of broken fortunes from many a corner, who had joined the army in expectation of obtaining lands in Scotland. Some make the whole amount to 300,000. Our northern minstrel in the "Lord of the Isles," has given a poetical charm even to the muster-roll of Edward's army.

> "And not famed England's powers alone,
> Renowned in arms, the summons own!
> For Neustra's knights obeyed,
> Gascogne hath lent her horsemen good,
> And Cambria, but of late subdued,
> Sent forth her mountain-multitude,
> And Connoght poured from waste and wood
> Her hundred tribes, whose sceptre rude
> Dark Eth. O'Connor swayed."

Edward marched northward with uncommon ostentation, and in full confidence of victory; having ordered his fleet to attend him by sea with provisions, and appointed public prayers to be offered up in all the churches and monasteries of his dominions. These preparations did not terrify those against whom they were made.

Robert Bruce, grandson of Baliol's competitor, had been crowned king of Scotland by the Countess of Buchan, in 1306. Though hitherto he had been involved in perpetual war with England, and the party among the Scots who adhered

to Baliol, and his successes checkered with greater losses, so that he had several times been reduced to the greatest extremities; still his vigour of mind and body had enabled him to sustain additional toil and hardship. Timeously informed of Edward's formidable preparations, he raised an army of 30,000, an armament which bore a small proportion to that of England. It was composed, however, of soldiers inured to war, and carrying on the sword's point liberty, honour, and everything dear to man. The Highlanders must have been numerous comparatively, for Bruce had ingratiated himself with almost all the chiefs. MacGregor had furnished the relic of St. Fillan, and is said to have fought bravely at Bannockburn. With this little force, Robert, taking his station near Stirling, waited for Edward. His first rendezvous was at Torwood, where he laid the plan of his operations in concert with his general officers, Edward his brother; Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, his nephew; Lord Walter, High Steward; and Sir James Douglas, who was afterwards employed to carry the heart of Robert the Bruce to the Holy Land. As he was killed, however, on the way, and his suite did not choose to proceed, his remains were brought back, and interred, with those of his ancestors, at Douglas. Bruce's heart was deposited neither in Jerusalem, where he had wished it to be, nor in Dunfermline, whither, from Cardross,

in Dumbartonshire, his corpse had, with suitable pomp, been conveyed, but in Melrose Abbey.

The two armies first beheld each other in the month of June; and a fierce and bloody battle was soon after fought, in which the Scots obtained a victory, the most celebrated of any in the annals of their country. Although the union of the kingdoms have now rendered their former mutual contests matter rather of curiosity than serious concern; still the briefest particulars of so great an action so near the door, cannot but be entertaining to the inhabitant of Stirlingshire. The historians of this singular affair often contradict each other, and assert local impossibilities. Buchanan, having long resided at Stirling, when preceptor of James VI., and had frequent opportunities of viewing the field, has given a distinct account of it. Casting our eye upon his history, and the fields which were the stage of this great transaction, we have, at one glance, the dispositions and motions of both armies.

The English host, having marched from Edinburgh to Falkirk in one day, set out next morning towards Stirling. Robert, being well informed of their motions, dispatched Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Keith to reconnoitre them upon their march. These officers reported privately to the king, that it was the best arrayed, as well as the most numerous, army that he had ever seen, and pompous almost beyond expression. Policy led

Bruce to conceal this report from his army. He ordered it, on the other hand, to be given out, that, though the enemy was numerous, it was not properly marshalled. The English, meanwhile, came in sight, and encamped on the north of Torwood. About Upper Bannockburn, and in the moor of Plean, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Roman causeway, pieces of broken pots, and other vessels, have been found; and, upon the rocks, near the surface, marks of fire have been discovered, where, as is supposed, the soldiers had cooked their provisions. Barbour, too, speaks as if their camp had stretched so far north, as to occupy part of the carse. So vast a multitude must doubtless have covered a large tract of country.

The Scottish army had, some days before, drawn nearer Stirling, and posted themselves in ground previously chosen, behind the small stream of the Bannock, remarkable for its steep and rugged banks. They occupied several small eminences, and upon the summit of one of these, now called Brock's Brae—*i.e.*, badger's acclivity —is a stone marking the ground where Bruce planted the royal standard, and near which his pavilion was erected. The space, or hole rather, in which the "Bored Stone" rests, is about 3 feet square, and has been roofed with an iron grating for protection against the picking propensities of pilgrims. But on the 25th June, 1877,

the erection of a neat and substantial flagstaff, by the Dunbarton and Stirling Rock of Hope Lodge of Oddfellows, was inaugurated here with great ceremony. A foundation having been built on the solid rock, half-a-dozen yards west from the Bored Stone, for the necessary structure to receive the staff, on this has been bolted a malleable iron mainmast (hollow), rising to a height of 70 feet, and weighing 3 tons. It has been screwed down at the base with malleable iron plates; while the whole fixings of the mast have been covered with a solid and elegant cast-iron covering, decorated with Scotch thistles. The upper mast, which is of Baltic pine, is 50 feet long. Surmounting the whole, as a vane, there is a battle axe, with a malleable iron spire, and blade of block tin. The entire height of the erection is 120 feet. The *Times* did rather an undignified thing when it headed its report of this memorial of a famous historical event, "A snub to England." As well might it accuse the Greeks of bad taste for erecting a similarly-spirited work to mark Thermopylæ. The prospect from the bald eminence is exactly what might be looked for. In almost every direction we have the survey of a fine sweep of country, with many objects patriotically revered to deepen the interest of the view. Northwards, Stirling castle, sitting proudly with towers and ramparts, on its everlasting rock, and the Wallace monument, stand out boldly in the landscape; while

more immediately west is the Gillies' Hill, capped with a solitary tree, which, in the undulating distance, has all the appearance of a huge umbrella. From a situation so commanding, we naturally get at a glance the whole range of the ground occupied by the hostile armies. Thus they lay facing each other, at a mile's distance, with the streamlet running in a narrow valley between them.

Stirling castle was still in the hands of the English. Edward Bruce had, in the preceding spring, besieged it for several months; but, finding himself unable to reduce it, had abandoned the enterprise. By a treaty, however, between Edward and Philip Moubray, the governor, it was agreed that, if the garrison had received no relief from England before St. John the Baptist's Day, 24th June, they should then surrender to the Scots. Robert was much dissatisfied with his brother; but, to save his honour, at last confirmed the treaty. Edward was distinguished for vigorous measures. The following anecdote, as related by Lord Hailes, the distinguished annalist of Scotland, justifies the line,

"And fiery Edward routed stout St. John."

John de St. John, with 15,000 horse, had advanced to oppose the inroad of the Scots. By a forced march, he endeavoured to surprise them, but intelligence of his motion was timeously received.

The courage of Edward Bruce, approaching to temerity, frequently enabled him to achieve what men of more judicious valour would never have attempted. He ordered the infantry, and the meaner sort of his army, to entrench themselves in strong narrow ground. He himself, with fifty horsemen well harnessed, issued forth under cover of a thick mist, surprised the English on their march, attacked and dispersed them. When blamed by Robert for his rash treaty with Moubray, "Let all England come," exclaimed Edward, "we will fight them were they more."

The day before the battle, a fine body of cavalry, to the number of 800, was detached from the English camp, under the conduct of Lord Clifford, to the relief of the castle. These, having marched through low grounds, upon the edge of the carse, had passed the Scottish army on their left before they were observed. The king himself was the first to perceive them; and, desiring the Earl of Moray, who commanded the left wing, to turn his eyes towards the quarter where they were making their appearance, in the crofts of St. Ninians, said to him, angrily, "Thoughtless man! you have suffered the enemy to pass." Moray, feeling severely, instantly pursued them with 500 foot; and, coming up with them in the plain, where the village of Newhouse now stands, commenced a sharp action in sight of both armies, and of the castle. Randolph's

party, who had been drawn up in a circular form, with their spears protended, and resting on the ground, were briskly attacked and surrounded by the enemy. Much valour was displayed on both sides; and it was some time doubtful who should be victorious. Robert, attended by several of his general officers, witnessed this rencounter from Cockshot Hill. Douglas, seeing the distress of his brave friend, who was greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, asked leave to go with a reinforcement to his support. This the king at first refused; but, upon his afterwards consenting, Douglas put his soldiers in motion. Perceiving, however, on the way, that Randolph was on the point of victory, he stopped short, that they who had long fought so hard might enjoy undivided glory. The English were entirely defeated, with great slaughter. Among the slain was Sir Gilzame de Ainecourt, a knight and commander of great renown, who had fallen in the beginning of the action. The loss of the Scots amounted to one man slain. Randolph and his company, covered with dust and glory, returned to the camp, amidst acclamations of joy. To perpetuate the memory of the victory, two large stones were erected in the field, where they are still to be seen. The spot was ultimately inclosed for a garden. It is at the north end of the village of New-House, about a quarter of a mile from the South Port of Stirling.

This victory gave new spirits to the army, and raised so great an ardour for a general engagement, that the night, though one of the shortest, seemed long to them.

> "It was a night of lovely June,
> High rode in cloudless blue the moon,
> Demyat smiled beneath her ray.
> Old Stirling's towers arose in light,
> And, twined in links of silver bright,
> Her winding river lay.
> Ah, gentle planet! other sight
> Shall greet thee next returning night."

Edward, too, exasperated at the defeat of his detachment, and perceiving the disadvantageous impression it was likely to make upon his army, was resolved to bring it to a general action next day. All was early in motion on both sides. Religious sentiments in the Scots were mingled with military fire. A solemn mass was pronounced by Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, afterwards the king's confessor; who also administered the sacrament to the king, and the chief officers about him, while inferior priests did the same to the rest of the army. Then, after a sober repast, they formed in order of battle, in a tract of ground, now called Nether Touchadam, which lies along the declivity of a gently rising hill, about a mile due south from Stirling castle. This situation had been previously chosen on account of its advantages. Upon the right, they had a

range of steep rocks, whither the baggage-men had retired, and which, from this circumstance, has been called Gillies' or Servants' Hill. In their front, were the steep banks of the rivulet of Bannock. Upon the left lay a morass, now called Milton Bog, from its vicinity to a small village of that name. Much of this bog is still undrained; and part of it is now a mill-pond. As it was then the middle of summer, it was almost quite dry; but Robert had recourse to a stratagem, to prevent any attack from that quarter. He had, some time before, ordered pits, about a foot in breadth, and two feet deep, to be dug in the morass, and fields on the left, and covered with green turf, supported by stakes, so as to exhibit the appearance of firm ground. He also had calthorps scattered there; some of which have been found within the present century. By these means, together with the natural strength of the ground, the Scottish army stood as within an entrenchment.

Some historians tell us, that Robert rendered even the rays of the sun subservient to his advantage, having drawn up his army in such a position, that the enemy, fighting, would have their motions embarrassed by dazzled eyes. Be that as it may, the Scottish line, no doubt, extended in a north-easterly direction from the brook of Bannock, where their right flank would be covered effectually, to the village of St. Ninians, probably

in the line of the present road from Stirling to Kilsyth. The military advantages of this position were obvious, as the English could not pass the Scottish army, and move towards Stirling, without exposing their flank to be attacked, while in march. If, on the other hand, the Scottish line had been drawn up east and west, and facing to the southward, as affirmed by Buchanan, and adopted by Mr. Nimmo, there appears nothing to have prevented the English approaching upon the carse, or level ground, from Falkirk, either from turning the Scottish left flank, or from passing their position, if they preferred it, without coming to action, and moving on to the relief of Stirling. The Gillies' Hill, if this less probable hypothesis be adopted, would be situated not in the rear, as allowed by all historians, but upon the right flank of Bruce's army. And, again: many English, at the close of the battle, ran to the castle, or the Forth, which they must have done through the victorious line, had it been drawn up from east to west.

Barbour, who lived near those times, mentions a park with trees, through which the English had to pass, before they could attack the Scots; and says, that Robert chose this situation, that, besides other advantages, the trees might prove an impediment to the enemy's cavalry. The improvements of agriculture and various works have, in the lapse of five hundred years, much altered

the face of this, as well as other parts of the country. Vestiges, however, of this park still remain. Many stumps of trees are seen all around the field where the battle was fought. A farm-house, situated almost in the middle, goes by the name of "*the Park;*" and a mill built upon the south bank of the rivulet, nearly opposite to where the centre of Robert's army stood, goes by the name of Parkmill.

The Scottish army was drawn up in three divisions, and their front extended near a mile in length, along the bank of the river. The right, which was upon the highest grounds, was commanded by Edward Bruce, the king's brother. The left was posted on the low grounds, near the morass, under the direction of Randolph, and the king himself took charge of the centre. Mention is also made of a fourth division, commanded by Walter, Lord High Steward, and Sir James Douglas, both of whom had been knighted that morning by their sovereign.

The enemy were fast approaching in three great bodies, led on by the English monarch in person, and by the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, who were ranked among the best generals that England could then produce. Their centre was formed of infantry, and the wings of cavalry, many of whom were armed cap-a-pee—*a capite ad pedem*, from head to foot. Squadrons of archers were also planted upon the wings, and at

certain distances along the front. Edward was attended by two knights, Sir Giles de Argentine and Sir Aymer de Vallance, who rode, according to the phrase of those days, at his bridle. That monarch, who had imagined that the Scots would never face his formidable host, was much astonished when he beheld their order and determined resolution to give him battle. As he expressed his surprise, Sir Ingram Umfraville took the opportunity of suggesting a plan likely to ensure a cheap and bloodless victory. He counselled him to make a feint of retreating with the whole army, till they had got behind their tents; and, as this would tempt the Scots from their ranks for the sake of plunder, to turn about suddenly, and fall upon them. The counsel was rejected. Edward thought there was no need of stratagem to defeat so small a handful.

Among the other occurrences of this memorable day, historians mention an incident. As the two armies were on the point of engaging, the Abbot of Inchaffray posted himself before the Scots, with a crucifix in his hand; when they all fell down upon their knees in the act of devotion. The enemy, observing them in so uncommon a posture, concluded that they were frightened into submission, and that, by kneeling, when they should have been ready to fight, they meant to surrender at discretion, and only begged their lives. They were soon undeceived. They saw

them rise, and, with a steady countenance, stand to arms.

> "And when the English king had sight
> Of them kneeling, he said in hie,
> Yon folk kneeleth to ask mercy.
> Sir Ingram said, Ye say sooth now,
> They ask mercy, but none at yow;
> For their trespass to God they cry.
> I tell thee a thing sickerly,
> That yon men will all win or die,
> For doubt of dead, they will not flee."

The English began the action, by a vigorous charge upon the left wing, commanded by Randolph, near the spot where the bridge is now thrown over the river, at the village of Charters-hall. Its neighbourhood was the only place where the river could be passed in any sort of order. A large body of cavalry advanced to attack in front, while another made a circuit to fall upon the flank and rear. Ere, however, they could come to close engagement, they fell into the snare that had been laid for them; many of their horses were soon disabled by the sharp irons rushing into their feet; others tumbled into the concealed pits, and could not disentangle themselves. Pieces of harness, with bits of broken spears, and other armour, were even lately dug up in the bog. Randolph well knew how to improve an accident which he had expected. Taking immediate advantage of the disorder and

surprise into which it had thrown the enemy, he charged with vigour. The battle was, meanwhile, spreading along the front, and maintained with much valour on both sides.

An incident happened at the outset, which, however small in itself, led to important consequences. King Robert, according to Barbour, was ill mounted, carrying a battle-axe, and, on his bassinet-helmet, wearing, for distinction, a crown Thus externally distinguished, he rode before the lines, regulating their order, when an English knight, who was ranked amongst the bravest in Edward's army, Sir Henry de Boun, came galloping furiously up to him, to engage him in single combat, expecting, by this act of chivalry, to end the contest and gain immortal fame. But the enterprising champion, having missed his blow, was instantly struck dead by the king, the handle of whose axe was broken with the violence of the shock. This was a signal for the charge. The heroic achievement performed by the king before their eyes had raised the spirits of the Scots to the highest pitch. They rushed furiously upon the enemy, and met with a warm reception. The ardour of one of the Scottish divisions had carried them too far, and occasioned their being sorely galled by a large body of English archers, who charged them in flank. These, however, were soon dispersed by Sir Robert Keith Marischal, whom the king had despatched with five hundred

horse. A strong body of the enemy's cavalry charged the right wing, which Edward Bruce commanded, with such irresistible fury that he had been quite overpowered, had not Randolph, who appears to have been then unemployed, marched to his assistance. The battle was now at the hottest, and it was yet uncertain how the day should go. The English continued to charge with unabated vigour. The Scots received them with an inflexible intrepidity, each individual fighting as if victory had depended on his single arm. An occurrence, which some represent as an accidental sally of patriotic enthusiasm, others as a premeditated stratagem of Robert's, suddenly altered the face of affairs, and contributed greatly to victory. Above fifteen thousand servants and attendants of the Scottish army had been ordered, before the battle, to retire with the baggage behind the adjoining hill; but having during the engagement arranged themselves in a martial form, some on foot, and others mounted on the baggage-horses, they marched to the top, and displaying, on long poles, white sheets instead of banners, descended towards the field with hideous shouts. The English, taking them for a fresh reinforcement of the foe, were seized with so great a panic that they gave way in great confusion. Buchanan says that the English king was the first that fled, but contradicts all other historians, who affirm that Edward was among

the last in the field. Nay, according to some accounts, he would not be persuaded to retire till Aymer de Vallance, seeing the day lost, took hold of his bridle and led him off. Sir Giles de Argentine, the other knight who waited on Edward, would not consent to leave the ground, but putting himself at the head of a battalion, and making a vigorous effort to retrieve the disastrous state of affairs, was soon overpowered and slain. He was a champion of high renown, and having signalised himself in several battles with the Saracens, was reckoned the third knight of his day. Baston thus feelingly laments the fall of this noble ancestor of the dukes of Gordon—

> "Nobilis argentem, pugil inclyte, dulcis Egidi,
> Vix Scieram mentem cum te succumbere vidi."

The Scots pursued, and made great havoc among the enemy, especially in passing the river, where, from the irregularity of the ground, they could not preserve the smallest order. A mile from the field of battle, a small bit of ground goes by the name of Bloody Fold; where, according to tradition, a party of the English faced about and made a stand, but, after sustaining a dreadful slaughter, were forced to continue their flight. This account corresponds to several histories of the Earl of Gloucester. Seeing the rout of his countrymen, he made an effort to renew the battle, at the head of his military tenants, and,

after having personally done much execution, was, with most of his party, cut to pieces. The Scots, it is said, would have spared his life, had they known him; but he had neglected to wear his surcoat with armorial bearings over his armour, and thus fell unknown, after his horse had been pierced with spears.

Much valour was displayed on both sides; and the victory brought the greater honour to the Scots, that it had been obtained, not over an ill-disciplined multitude, as some represent the English to have been, but a regular and well-marshalled army, who had fought both with courage and skill.

Perhaps there is not an instance of a battle, in which the exact numbers of killed and wounded have been correctly ascertained. The ordinary method is, for each side to lessen its own loss, and augment that of the enemy. Though the English writers do not specify particulars, they acknowledge it to have been very great, and that their nation never met with such an overthrow. The Scottish writers make the enemy's loss, in the battle and pursuit, fifty thousand, and their own four thousand. Of the latter, Sir William Wepont and Sir Walter Ross were the only persons of distinction. A proportion almost incredible! The slain on the English side were all decently interred by Robert's order, who, even in the heat of victory could not refrain from shedding

tears over several who had been his intimate friends. The corpse of the Earl of Gloucester was carried that night to the church of St. Ninians, where it lay, till, together with that of the Lord Clifford, it was sent to the English monarch. The number of prisoners also was very great; and amongst them were many of high rank, who were treated with the utmost civility.

The remains of the vanquished were scattered all over the country. Many ran to the castle; and not a few, attempting the Forth, were drowned. The Earl of Hereford, the surviving general, retreated with a large body towards Bothwell, and threw himself, with a few of the chief officers, into the castle, which was garrisoned by the English. Being hard pressed, he surrendered, and was soon exchanged against Robert's queen and daughter, and some others of his friends, who had been captive eight years in England.

King Edward escaped with much difficulty. Retreating from the battle-field, he rode to the castle, but was told by the governor, that he could not long enjoy safety there, as it could not be defended against the victors. Taking a circuit to shun the vigilance of the Scots, he made the best of his way homeward, accompanied by fifteen noblemen, and a small body of cavalry. He was closely pursued above forty miles by Sir James Douglas, who, with a party of light horse, kept upon his rear, and was often very near him.

How hard he was put to, may be guessed from a vow which he made in his flight, to build and endow a religious house in Oxford, should it please God to favour his escape. He was on the point of being made prisoner, when he was received into the castle of Dunbar by Gospatrick Earl of March, who was in the English interest. Douglas waited a few days in the neighbourhood, in expectation of his attempting to go home by land. He escaped, however, by sea, in a fisherman's boat. His stay at Dunbar had been very short. Three days after the battle, he issued a proclamation from Berwick, announcing the loss of his seal, and forbidding all persons to obey any order proceeding from it, without some other evidence of that order being his. Roger de Northburg, keeper of the king's signet (*custos targiæ domini regis*), was made prisoner, with his two clerks, Roger de Wakenfelde, and Thomas de Switon. But the king caused another seal to be made, and entitled it his "privy seal," to distinguish it from the one so lost. The *targia*, or signet, was restored to England, through the intercession of Ralph de Monthermer, ancestor of the Marquis of Hastings. Edward's former confidence of success, and the manner of his escape, call to mind the ostentatious parade with which Xerxes invaded Greece, and the sorry plight in which he was compelled to retreat.

The castle of Stirling was next day surrendered,

and the garrison allowed to pass unmolested to England, in terms of the treaty regarding it; but Moubray the governor was so won by the civilities of Robert, that he entered into his service, and ever after continued faithful to him.

In the morning after the battle, an English knight, and an old acquaintance of Robert's, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, came and surrendered. He was cordially received; and, after having been treated with great civility, was sent home not only without ransom, but loaded with presents. In a word, Bruce's whole behaviour after his victory, revealed a greatness of soul, seldom found in conquerors. The horrors of war, so long familiar to him, had not extinguished the gentler affections. He lost no time, however, in directing the thunders of parliamentary censure against such part of his subjects as did not return to their natural allegiance after the battle. A voucher to this effect, dated 6th November, 1314, was issued from the monastery of Cambuskenneth, to which fifty seals were appended.

So sanguine was Edward of annihilating the Scots, by his superior strength numerically, that within the English camp, full of costly grandeur, sat Andrew Baston, the bard, who had been brought specially by his king to celebrate the slaughter of Scottish nationality. But things were not so to be. This Baston was a Carmelite monk, and, according to Bishop Bale, a laureated poet

and public orator at Oxford. Like Gulielmus Peregrinus, he accompanied the king on his military expeditions, and took care to commemorate his master's exploits in suitable heroics. In this capacity he went with Edward I. to Scotland, in 1304, and, as the result of what he saw and experienced on various occasions there, gave to the world—at least to so many as were able to peruse the same—his "De Strivilniensi Obsidione" (Siege of Stirling Castle), "De Altero Scotorum," and other poems, some of which are still to be found in Fordun. Being part of the retinue that Edward II. took with him to the north, he was taken prisoner at the battle we have just sketched, and, by way of payment for his ransom, was ordered by Bruce to compose a poem in praise of the Scottish victory. This he did, in a monkish rhyme, consisting of barbarous jingle. Some historical facts, however, are confirmed by it. He mentions the pits and ditches which had been dug, the stakes that were fixed in them, and the calthrops. He gives a list, also, of the most distinguished of the English slain in the battle, and begins his poem thus :—

> "De planetu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
> Risum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo;
> Rector cœlestis, adhebens solamina mæstis
> Verax est testis," &c.

A Scottish monk also composed a poem upon the same subject, in a strain nothing superior, though

perhaps slightly more intelligible. We subjoin part of it, as another specimen of the uncouth poetry of that age, preserved by Fordun, who has himself written verses equally poor, and interspersed them in his history.

"M. semel et C. ter, semel X. J jungito quater.
Nato Baptista, nova gratia contigit ista,
Quod Rex Scotorum, peditum cum parte suorum,
Anglos prostravit, equites cum rege fugavit.
Rivulus est super hoc testis, cognomine Bannock,
In quo submersa jacuerunt corpora versa," &c.

A ballad likewise on the battle of Bannockburn was anciently composed in the Scottish language, and universally sung by women and children for several ages. The following fragment of it has been handed down to us.

"Maydens of England, sore may ye mourne,
For zour lemmons, zou have lost at Bonockborne,
with hevalo.
What weend the King of England,
To have gotten Scotland,
with rummelo."

In the olden times, every king had his panegyrist, every earl his doting sycophant, and every lord his laureate. Phenomenal plenty made such *literati* the puppets of fortune. In the halls of the great they fed nobly, and held the gayest of revels; life was elysium, and death ridiculously remote. Out of favour, they were penniless paupers, without a crust; sorrow and suicide

stood alike spectres on either hand. Another turn of the wheel, and they vaulted again into their sumptuous slavery. Feasting and starvation, tapestried dormitories and the mendicant's mat, were the ruinous alternations of those unhappy lives. That was an age of dependence on patrons. But the last century was the last of that age. No man in literature now, be he great or small, thinks of a patron. The one patron of the nineteenth century is the public—a truer, juster, and more munificent patron than letters ever had before.

This battle of Bannockburn, forming one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of Scotland, was fought on Monday the 24th June, 1314. The victory was attended with the most important consequences. It established Robert firmly upon the throne, which, hitherto, he had always felt tottering beneath him; and settled throughout the kingdom a tranquillity formerly unknown. The extensive possessions in the West of Scotland belonging to Baliol, together with the estates of his partizans, who appear to have been more numerous than is commonly imagined, falling under forfeiture, gave the crown greater power than it formerly had possessed. Robert reserved some of these estates, and bestowed the rest upon his most trusty friends; who thus became attached to his government by a new tie. The reward bestowed upon Sir Robert Keith Mareschal,

who, by dispersing with his cavalry, the enemy's archers, had so materially contributed to the success of the day, may be seen from the following passage in Robertson's Index of Charters. Charter by Robert I. "to Robert Keith, of the lands of Merschell, and the office of Merschellship, Keith," (in the constabulary of Haddington and shire of Edinburgh), "Symone, Colbanstoun, Alneden in Buchan, with the new forest of Innerpeffer, four davache of land of Strathbogie, the forest of Kintoir, conteinand ane taillie." This charter was confirmed by David II. It is not known to whom Leckie in Stirlingshire had formerly belonged; but, from Robertson's printed Index of Charters, it appears that the half of this estate nearest "Buchaun" was the private property of King Robert, and that he exchanged it with the Earl of Lennox for Cardross in Dunbartonshire.

The rich spoils also found in the English camp, greatly increased the national wealth. That people, sure of victory, had marched to it with all the parade of luxury; and on their defeat, money, plate, rich armour, sumptuous furniture, fine equipages, and all the riches of their camp, fell into the hands of the Scots. These, together with the large sums paid by prisoners of rank for their ransom, introduced a more plentiful circulation of money in Scotland than had ever been known. The effects soon became every

where visible. Several large mansions where there had been none before, were, according to traditions still current, built after this battle. From that time, also, the Scots began to study more elegance in their houses and gardens, and give more attention to agriculture. For, however much they hated the English, and had been harassed by their unjust claims, they gradually adopted several of their customs, and found an advantage in cultivating various arts borrowed from them—resembling those nations whom the Romans had invaded; and who came gradually to imitate that people, and practise arts and customs, the first knowledge of which they had received from their enemies and oppressors.

But while this battle was emphatically the great achievement of Bruce's life, it must also be regarded as a victory which had a really world-wide influence—thoroughly upsetting the sordid schemes of the English monarchs for the capture of France and Scotland, and affecting for the highest good the grander destinies of Europe. What could Knox have done for the fundamental fabric of the Reformation, without his kingly forerunners, Wallace and Bruce, yet unapproached for military prowess and disinterested patriotism?

CHAPTER XI.

BATTLE OF SAUCHIEBURN.

NEVER was any race of kings more unfortunate than that of Stewart. Their reigns were generally disastrous, and their end tragical. Of six successive monarchs, the immediate predecessors of James VI., not one had died a natural death. James III. came to an untimely and unnatural end in the county we are surveying.

A misunderstanding had subsisted between this prince and several of the chief nobility, during the greater part of his reign. James did not possess those talents for government which had distinguished several of his predecessors; for, though sundry wise and useful regulations were established in his reign, and his errors have, no doubt, been much exaggerated, yet it cannot be denied, that marks of an imprudent and feeble mind are visible in the general tenor of his conduct.

A natural timidity of temper, together with a foolish attention to astrology, had filled his mind with perpetual jealousy and suspicion. He had no warrior's heart; rather that of the coward, a

most unhappy reputation for a Scottish king. The impression, during his reign, was that, among Cochran's Satanic influences, it had been prophesied he should die by the nearest of his kin; and, to defeat this, he put to death his brother Mar. With his son, however, to whom the prophecy had never been applied, he saw its fulfilment coming. A fondness, too, for architecture, music, and other studies, or amusements, which, though innocent and useful, were too trifling to engage the whole time and care of a prince, had rendered him averse to public business. Indolence, and want of penetration, had also led him to make choice of such ministers and favourites, as were not considered qualified for the trust committed to them.

The ministers of state had usually been chosen from amongst the nobility; but, in the reign of James, the nobles, either from his fear or hatred of them, or from a consciousness of his inability to maintain proper dignity, were seldom consulted in affairs of government, and often denied access to the royal presence.

This could not fail to excite the displeasure of the Scottish barons, who, in former reigns, had not only been regarded as the companions and counsellors of their sovereigns, but possessed the great offices of power and trust.

Displeasure developed into indignation, when they beheld every mark of the royal confidence

and favour conferred upon Cochran the mason, Hommil the tailor, Leonard the smith, Rodgers the musician, and Torfifan the fencing-master; whom James always kept about him, caressed with the fondest affection, and endeavoured to enrich with an imprudent liberality.

To redress the grievance, the barons had recourse to a method corresponding with their characteristic ferocity. Unacquainted with the regular method, adopted in modern times, of proceeding by impeachment, they seized upon James's favourites by violence, tore them from his presence, and, without any form of trial, executed them. James Hommil, scissor (the old name for tailor), did not suffer on this occasion. He was, however, afterwards prosecuted by the Parliament of 1488, for attempting to bring in the English to the king's aid. Another of the royal suite, James Chisholme, page to his majesty and subsequently chaplain, escaped the fate of his companions; and this youth, son of Edmund first Chisholm of Cromlix, was, in 1487, consecrated Bishop of Dunblane. But so gross an insult, as the executions referred to, could not fail to excite some degree of resentment, even in the most gentle bosom; though true policy would have suggested to a wise prince, so soon as the shock of passion had subsided, the necessity of relinquishing measures, which had given such offence to subjects so powerful as the then

Scottish barons. Their influence, indeed, had, by a concurrence of causes, become so predominant, that the combination of a few was able to shake the throne. The attachment of James to favourites was, notwithstanding, so immoderate, that he soon made choice of others, who became more assuming than the former, and consequently objects of still greater detestation to the barons, especially those, who, by residing near the court, had frequent opportunities of witnessing their ostentation and insolence.

Matters came at length to an open rupture. A party of the nobility took up arms; and having, by persuasion or force, prevailed upon the king's eldest son, then a youth of fifteen, to join them, they, in his name, erected their standard against their sovereign. Roused by the intelligence of such operations, James also took the field. An accommodation at first took place, but upon what terms is not known. The transactions of the latter part of this reign are variously related by historians, and but darkly by the best. Such as lived the nearest to the time, and had the fullest opportunities of information, probably found that they could not be explicit without throwing reflections upon either the father or the son. The malcontents, according to some accounts, proposed that James should resign his crown in behalf of his son. This accommodation, whatever the articles were, being attended with no

mutual confidence, was of very short duration. New occasions of discord arose. James, it was asserted, had not fulfilled his part of the treaty. Ignorance, indeed, of the articles prevent us from forming any certain judgment of the truth of the charge. There are, however, strong presumptions in its favour. The Earls of Huntly and Errol, the Marischal, the Lord Glammis, with several others who had hitherto adhered to James, now left him, and joined the disaffected. And, in an Act of Parliament, framed soon after the king's death, and entitled "The proposition of the debate of the field of Stirling," his receding from certain articles to which he had formerly consented as the foundation of peace, is expressly assigned as the reason which had determined these lords to that sudden change. This document sets forth that the late king, by perverse counsel of divers persons, who were then with him, had broken certain articles which he had subscribed and consented to; and that, therefore, the Earl of Huntly, and others of the king's lieges, had forsaken him, and adhered to his successor. The confederacy now began to spread wider than ever, so as to comprehend almost all the barons, and consequently their military vassals and retainers, on the south of the Grampians.

James, having crossed the Forth in a vessel of Sir Andrew Wood's, proceeded to Aberdeen, when the northern counties eagerly poured forth their

hands in defence of the royal cause. In April, he advanced by Stirling to Blackness, where an undecisive skirmish took place, and a reconciliation was hastily patched up. The king gave his uncle, the Earl of Athole, to Hailes, as a hostage, while the Earl of Crawford, who had distinguished himself here, was created, as the reward of valour, Duke of Montrose. Lord Kilmauris was, for the same reason, created Earl of Glencairn.

With the prospect of new hostilities before him, James now shut himself up in Edinburgh castle, till, by the arrival of his northern subjects, whom he had summoned to his assistance, he should be in a position to take the field. As, however, Stirling was reckoned more convenient for the rendezvous of the northern clans, he was advised to go thither. Upon his arrival, he was excluded from the castle by Shaw the governor, who favoured the other party. While deliberating what step to take on this unexpected reception, intelligence was brought him that the disaffected lords, at the head of a considerable army, had advanced to Torwood. The only alternative was, either to make his escape by going on board Admiral Wood's fleet, stationed in the Forth, near Alloa, or engage the enemy with what forces he had collected. Though not distinguished for courage, he resolved upon the latter course, and prepared.

The two armies met in a tract of ground, which

now goes by the name of Little Canglar, upon the east side of a brook called Sauchie Burn, about two miles south of Stirling, and one mile from the famous field of Bannockburn. The royal army was drawn up in three divisions. Historians differ about their numbers. Some make them amount to above thirty thousand. The Earls of Menteith and Crawford, the Lords Erskine, Graham, Ruthven, and Maxwell, with Sir David Lindsay of Byres, were each intrusted with a military command. We are not authentically informed how these leaders, with their several divisions, were arranged. Nor is it agreed in what part the king had his station; only, we are told that he was armed cap-a-pee, and mounted on a spirited grey horse, presented to him by Sir David Lindsay; and that Sir David told his Majesty he might at any time trust his life to the animal's agility and sure-footedness, provided he could keep his seat.

The malcontent army, amounting to eighteen thousand, and mostly cavalry, was likewise ranged in three divisions. The first, composed of East-Lothian and Merse men, was commanded by the Lords Home and Hailes, whose discontent had arisen from the king having annexed to his chapel-royal at Stirling the revenues of the priory of Coldingham, to the disposal of which they had claim. The second line, made up of the inhabitants of Galloway and the border counties, was

led by Lord Gray; and the prince had the name of commanding the main body, though he was entirely under the direction of the lords about him. Showers of arrows from both sides began the action; but they soon came to closer engagement with arrows and swords.

The royalists at first gained an advantage, and drove back the enemy's first line. These, however, being soon supported by the borderers, who composed the second, not only recovered their ground, but pushed the first and second lines of the royalists back to the third. Fighting there was, but no battle.

Any little courage of which James was possessed soon forsook him. He put spurs to his horse, and galloped off, with the view, as is conjectured, of getting on board Admiral Wood's fleet, which lay in sight five miles distant. As he was on the point of crossing the Bannock, near the village of Milton, a woman happened to be drawing water, and, observing a man in armour gallop full speed towards her, and being alarmed for her safety, left her pitcher, and ran off. The horse, starting at sight of the vessel, threw his rider, who was so bruised with the fall, and the weight of his armour, as to faint away. As the disaster had happened within a few yards of a mill, the miller and his wife carried the unfortunate horseman thither; and, though ignorant of his name and station, treated him with great humanity, and

administered to him such cordials as their house afforded. When he had somewhat recovered, he called for a priest, to whom, as a dying man, he might make confession. Being asked who he was, he replied, "I was your king this morning." Thunder-struck at the announcement, the poor woman ran out, wringing her hands, and calling loudly for assistance to the king. Some of the rebels, who happened to pass at the moment, heard her cries, and, according to tradition, one of them, a follower of Lord Gray, a priest by profession, exclaimed, "I am a priest. Where is the king?" He was led into the room where the king lay, and, kneeling down beside him, asked if he thought he might recover by the aid of surgery. "I believe that I might," answered James; "but let me have a priest to hear my confession, and to bring me the eucharist." The traitor, it is said, heard his confession, and then basely stabbed him.

The ground where this regicide was perpetrated is full of heroic memories. The place itself is well-known by the name of Beaton's mill, and stands on the east side of the Bannock. It is no longer a mill; just a small old dwelling-house, with crow-stepped gables. The lower parts of the walls are still the same which received the unfortunate monarch. The stones wear the marks of antiquity, being much mouldered by the weather in the lapse of ages. The upper part

of the fabric has been renewed; and the repairs it has undergone seem to have had no other design than to perpetuate the memory of a wretched business, the circumstances of which have been so carefully handed down by tradition, that they are still related by the inhabitants of the village, and correspond to the accounts we meet with in the best historians. Pity that events of a more illustrious character have been denied the same interest and attention by succeeding generations.

After the king's flight, his troops continued to fight with great bravery; but, at last, finding themselves unable to stand their ground, and discouraged by an uncertain rumour of his death, they began to retreat to Stirling. Well, too, might they feel it vain to defend a cause thus betrayed by its patron; while the adverse ranks, no doubt, shrunk from the horrors of mutual slaughter. They were not hotly pursued, for hostilities had immediately ceased. The army of the confederates lay that night upon the field, and next day marched back to Linlithgow. The number of the slain is uncertain, though it must have been considerable; for the action had lasted several hours. Some of high rank fell on the royal side, among whom were the Earl of Glencairn, and Lords Ruthven and Erskine. This battle was fought on the 11th June, 1488; and was called by diplomatical authority, "The field

of Stirling." "The battle of Sauchieburn" is a better name, as distinguishing it from the action between Wallace and the English in 1297. Bannockburn has a better claim to be called the battle of Stirling than either, and probably would have had that title, but for Wallace's victory which had the start of it in point of time.

The prince, who, before the battle, had given strict charge regarding his father's safety, heard the rumour of his death with great emotions of grief. It was not till some days after, that he obtained a certain account; for, if any of the confederate lords were in the secret, they had kept it carefully from the prince, and from the rest. A report was spread that the king had gone on board Admiral Wood's fleet, and was alive. The admiral, being called before the young king and the council, declared that he knew nothing of his late master. So little had this prince been accustomed to his father's company, that he was almost a stranger to his person; for, when Wood had appeared before him, struck with his stately appearance, or perhaps with some resemblance, he seriously exclaimed, "Sir, are you my father?" The admiral, bursting into tears, replied, "I am not your father, but I was your father's true servant." On the 18th of March, 1483, the property of Largo was granted to this Andrew Wood, of Leith, for his services by land

and sea, chiefly in the English war; and confirmed about 1497, with the addition, that the most eminent service had been the defence of Dumbarton, when the English navy came to besiege it. Sir Andrew Wood's fleet consisted of two ships, viz. 'Flower' and 'Yellow Carvel.' They compensated their want of numbers by courage, skill, and success. They took five English vessels, which had made an inroad upon the Scottish trade in the Forth. Henry VII. offered a large pension to any one who should kill or capture Wood. Many had declined, when Stephen Bull ventured against him with three stout ships completely manned and equipped, and anchored off the back of the Isle of May. Wood, though not expecting him, fought him hard two days, during which they had drifted to the Tay. At length, Wood captured the three English men of war, and brought them into Dundee. Presenting Bull to James IV., he was handsomely rewarded. The monarch gave presents to the English sailors, and sent them and ships as a gift to Henry, who muttered thanks, and disguised his chagrin. Sir Andrew formed, between Largo House and the church of that name, a canal along which, in a barge, with the appropriate naval honours, he proceeded to and from divine service.

At last the corpse of the king was discovered, and carried to the palace in Stirling castle, where it lay till interred with all due honour, in Cam-

buskenneth abbey, near the body of his queen, who had died not long before.

The confederate lords endeavoured to atone for their treatment of their late sovereign by their loyalty and duty towards his son, whom they instantly placed upon the throne. They also deemed it requisite, for their future security, to have a parliamentary indemnity for their proceedings. Accordingly, in a parliament that met soon after, they obtained a vote, by which everything done in "the Field of Stirling" was justified, and declared "lawful," on account of the necessity they had lain under of employing force against "the king's evil councillors, enemies of the kingdom." This vote is, in the records, called "The proposition of the debate of the field of Stirling."

The majority of the nation, south of the Tay, soon acknowledged the new king, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling surrendered to him. Sir John Lundie was made governor of the latter, instead of James Shaw, whose late treachery had rendered him detestable even to the party whose interest he had intended to serve.

The northern clans, who had adhered to the late king, did not so speedily submit to his successor, but combined to avenge his death upon those who were thought to keep his son still captive among them. Early next year, Lord Forbes made a tour through the northern counties, to excite the inhabitants, and accompanied

his arguments with an address to their passions, by displaying the bloody shirt of the murdered king upon a lance. The Earl of Levenax, or Lennox, who had espoused the same cause, raised 5,000 vassals and retainers, and marched northward, to form a junction with Forbes. As, however, the king and confederate lords held Stirling, he crossed the Forth some miles above, and at night encamped in a field adjoining to Tilly-Moss, now called Moss-Flanders. Having no suspicion of danger, and intending to march early next morning, he lay in a careless posture, and had not even set a regular watch. This tempted one MacAlpin to act treacherously. He stole away to Stirling, and gave information of the place where the earl had encamped, and the insecurity of his posture. Lord Drummond, a chief of the confederates, quickly setting out with a considerable force, surprised the earl, and, with little bloodshed, dispersed his army.

The northern clans, hearing of Lennox's defeat, immediately submitted to the new king, and the whole kingdom soon united in acknowledging his authority. As a penance for the unnatural part he had acted towards his father, he wore, ever after, an iron girdle next his skin, adding a link every year.

CHAPTER XII.

BATTLE OF KILSYTH.

IN 1645, when the affairs of Charles I. were much on the decline in England, a vigorous effort was made for him in Scotland by the Earl of Montrose. The services of this nobleman were no sooner offered than accepted; his plan of operations as quickly adopted as revealed. He was created Marquis of Montrose, and appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland. On his arrival here, he was instantly joined by several of the northern clans. A small army was raised. A supply of 1500 foot came from the west coast, under the command of Alexander MacDonald, son of a chieftain of Kintyre, to augment the patriotic band. There were John Muidartach, with a company of brave young men of his own country and kin, and Donald, his son, along with them; the clan MacLean from Mull, the clan Gregor, and the Stewarts of Appin. Montrose, putting himself at the head of this force, began his operations in the north; and his success from the first was so rapid, that, in the space of twelve months,

he gained six victories, and over-ran the greater part of Scotland. The first three conquests—those at Tibermor, Aberdeen, and Inverlochy, were gained over tumultuary armies, collected in haste, and headed by generals of no renown. His progress, however, alarmed the Scottish Council; and they began to think of a more regular plan of defence against an enemy whom they had affected to despise. Indeed, Montrose's name was now to the covenanters a word of fear and exasperation; and a feeling became general over the country that he must, if possible, be extinguished. In many parts, the old covenanting spirit had not only been rekindled, but burned vehemently; and armies were gathering fast in north and west, to successfully secure his suppression. Montrose, alive to what was thus brewing among the Whigs, resolved to strike a decided blow at the existing army before it was further strengthened. Baillie and Urrey, commanders of reputation, were sent forth by the committee of Estates to crush him. Dividing their forces, they marched separately in quest of his quarters. He had the dexterity, however, to turn their separation to his advantage. Having totally routed Urrey at Aldern, he did the same to Baillie at Alford, and marching towards the Forth, encamped at Tullibody.

Next day, passing by Stirling, not only to avoid the castle, occupied by the covenanters,

but a more dreadful foe, the pestilence, then raging in the town, he crossed the Forth, eight miles above, at the ford of Frew. After shortly halting to refresh his men, at his estate of Dundaff, he encamped on the fields of Kilsyth; and kept within the range of the Campsie Hills, where he could at any time secure himself.

Baillie followed with such speed, that he had encamped at Tullibody on the same evening his antagonist did at Kilsyth. In return for certain outrages committed by Montrose's troops in the parishes of Dollar and Muckart, Argyll ordered the house of Menstrie belonging to the Earl of Stirling, the king's secretary, and the house of Airthrey, the property of Graham of Braco, to be burned. He sent a message to the Earl of Mar, threatening Alloa Castle with the same calamity for the hospitality he had shown Montrose there recently.

The following day, Baillie, crossing the Forth at Stirling, made a short halt at Cambusbarron, for some regiments from Fife, who were a few miles behind. These, on their arrival, refused to proceed; alleging that they had entered into the service only on condition of not passing the limits of their own county. At last, however, they were persuaded. The army proceeded to Denny, and hence to Hollandbush, three miles east of Kilsyth.

Argyll, with a small body of troops, had tarried that night at Stirling; but taking his route

over the hills, and crossing the Carron near Buckie-burn, at a ford still bearing his name, soon joined the main body.

Although General Baillie was an officer of known valour and experience, yet, in this expedition nothing was left to his judgment. A committee of noblemen had been appointed, by the general committee of Estates, constantly to attend him. The principal members were, the Marquis of Argyll, the Earls of Crawford and Tullibardin, the Lords Elcho, Burleigh, and Balcarras, with some others. Not much renowned for military talents, they had powers to direct and control the general, in the route of the army, choice of the ground, and even arrangement of the troops in the hour of battle.

The committee, in the morning of the 15th of August, determined to attack Montrose that day. Baillie was averse to engage so soon; both because the troops, after so hasty a march, stood in need of refreshment; and as he was desirous first to hear of the Earl of Lanark, who had raised a considerable force in the western counties against Montrose. Finding himself obliged, however, to yield to their dictates, he put the army in motion; and, marching westward, through corn-fields, and much irregular ground, soon came in sight of the enemy, who, having got timeous intelligence, stood in battle array, and rejoiced in the prospect of fighting, on ground selected by

themselves, and before the western levies could have arrived.

Baillie began to form in a situation the most advantageous that the place afforded, near Auchincloigh two miles east of Kilsyth; bnt the committee, dissatisfied, forced him to quit his station, and take a hill more to the right. This motion gave a great advantage to the royal army, by introducing unavoidable disorder among the troops. Baillie's limited powers could not execute any regular plan; and his orders were so far from being strictly obeyed, that some regiments took stations other than those assigned them.

Montrose's army consisted of only 4,000 foot, with 500 horse, while that of his antagonist amounted to 6,000 foot, and 1,000 horse. But he had the choice and advantage of the ground; and, being invested with the supreme command, had arranged his troops in the best manner possible. In the warm summer morning, Montrose ordered his men to strip to their shirts, that the broadsword might have unencumbered play, and that they might not fail in the expected pursuit. This gave rise to a tradition still current, that the army of Montrose fought naked at Kilsyth. According to the Red Book of Clanronald, written by a soldier in Montrose's army, the cavalry had white shirts above their garments; while the infantry were bare-footed, with their shirts tied between their legs.

The battle at last began, in the valley behind the town of Kilsyth, where Montrose waited for his enemy. The field is now a small lake, or reservoir, for supplying water to works adjoining; but sufficient of it is seen to show that it was most suitable ground for Highland warfare. Two or three of Baillie's regiments commenced, by attempting to dislodge a party from the cottages and gardens; but meeting with a very warm reception, were forced to retire. A general engagement now took place, in a manner altogether tumultuary. A thousand Highlanders in Montrose's army, without waiting for orders, marched up the hill to the charge. Though displeased with their rashness, he despatched a strong detachment for their support, under the Earl of Airly; whose arrival not only preserved this resolute corps from being overpowered by a superior force, but obliged the covenanters to retreat. Accustomed to conquer, and placing absolute confidence in their leader, the clans vied with each other in the headlong impetuosity of their charge. All Montrose's men had now advanced, and, making a general assault, threw Baillie's army into such confusion, that he found it impossible to rally any part of them. After having, during the action, exerted himself with all the activity which his fettered situation allowed, he rode, full speed, to bring up the reserve; but found that it had also fled.

A total rout ensued; and few of the foot escaped either slaughter or capture. This was the most complete victory Montrose had ever gained, and with the loss of only seven or eight of his men. Three of these were Ogilvies, relations of the family of Airly. This account appears incredible, from the different rencounters in the field, and the brisk fire for a short while maintained by five of Baillie's regiments. Near the field of battle, on the south, lay a large morass, called Dullater Bog, through the midst of which the Forth and Clyde Canal now stretches. Several of Baillie's cavalry, in the hurry of flight, ran unawares into it, and perished. Both men and horses have been dug up there, in the memory of people yet alive. As moss is endowed with antiseptic qualities, the corpses were not greatly consumed. One was found on horseback, with all his military accoutrements, in the very posture in which he had sunk.

Montrose was now master of all the country. Edinburgh, Glasgow, other towns, and several counties, compounded with him for large sums.

Argyll, and the rest of the covenanting nobility, fled to different places. Baillie, with such of his cavalry as he could collect, repaired to Stirling. He was afterwards, by the committee of Estates, called to account for the loss of the battle. He vindicated himself; and was publicly declared to have acted conformably to the direction of "*the*

Field Committee. Argyll, a bad soldier, appears to have dictated in name of this body. "My lord marquis," writes Baillie, "asked me what next was to be done. I answered, the direction should come from his lordship and those of the committee. My lord demanded what reason was for that. I replied I found myself so slighted in everything belonging to ane commander-in-chief, that for the short time I was to stay with them I should absolutely submit to their direction and follow it."

Baillie, though smarting with defeat, seems, as a soldier, to have been struck with the splendid courage and picturesque fierceness of the swift-footed mountaineers, as they came on full speed, targets aloft, heads and shoulders bent low, in the literal attitude of the tiger when he springs.

Clanronald's bard, an actor, gives the following account of the battle:—"Coming nigh to Kilsyth, after a night march, they (the royal troops) encamped near the adjacent hills; but, upon the morning of next day, they perceived the great host of the enemy in pursuit of them. The royal army had no choice, but either to break up their camp, and fly without bread and flesh, or fight this great army. Upon which they immediately called a council of war of all the officers and gentry, to consult whether they were to retreat, or fight the enemy; but Montrose requested to have the opinion of the soldiers of the whole army.

The soldiers gave it as their opinion that it would be much better for them to fight, though attended with danger, than to be constantly retreating day and night. Upon which, Montrose sent a trumpeter to the enemy, to acquaint them that he was ready to give them battle. They set 3,000 pike and musket men in the front, in three divisions, and 11,000 in battalions behind these. It may be easily supposed what a hardship it was, for a small army to encounter them; for the royal army were only 4,000 foot and 500 horse, barefooted, with their shirt-tails tied between their legs; the cavalry had white shirts above their garments. This brave heroic band marched to the attack, in face of the enemy's cannon and muskets, with great courage and caution. The attack was begun by an excellent Irish and Scotch regiment of Gaels. Major MacLauchlan went before, directed by Alexander MacDonald. Other two regiments were ordered to their relief, the MacLeans, and that of Donald son of Muidartach; but the MacLeans were nearer the enemy, and were sooner in order than Clanronald. There fell out some difference between Donald son of John Muidartach, and Donald son of young Hector MacLean, about precedency; but the Clanronald made their way through the MacLeans to the attack. Donald's men, and Patrick Caoch MacGregor's men, made but one regiment. They gained the trenches. Donald

was the first man that leaped over them, and his men followed; and by the rushing forward of the rest of the army, who followed him close, the great army of the Covenanters was routed. They continued, a great part of the day, killing and pursuing the enemy." "What induced me," says the bard, "to write this much is, that those who have written upon the wars have taken little or no notice of the Gael, who were the principal people concerned in it, and did all that was done on the king's side."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF FALKIRK.

A FOREIGN war was the cause of the first battle of Falkirk. The second arose from a civil war, a prominent feature of which was that many of the friends of order in Scotland were the insurgents. It was to recover lost rights, not to acquire new, that this battle was fought.

In 1745, Charles Edward Stuart, elder son and heir of the Chevalier de St. George, son and heir of James II. and VII., landed, with seven attendants, from a French ship, in the Highlands of Scotland. These were the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been attainted of high treason in 1716; Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been Charles's preceptor; Sir John MacDonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; Æneas MacDonald, banker in Paris, Kinloch Moidart's brother; Kelly, who had been a prisoner in the Tower of London; and Buchanan, who had gone to Rome with a message from Cardinal de Tencin. He was also

joined by several chiefs and their vassals attached to the old rule of hereditary succession in families and kingdoms. They formed, however, but a small force, compared with the object they had in view—the re-establishment, upon the throne of Great Britain, of a family which, at the death of Queen Anne, had been royal 345 years, in opposition to a powerful party, by whom the family had been expelled.

Charles was not deterred from advancing, nor his friends from following. Leaving Perth, he passed through Glenalmond on the 10th of September, and took this circuitous route for the purpose of examining his new levies. On the 11th he arrived at Dunblane, where he lodged with Alexander MacGregor of Balhaldies, to whom, by Charles's father, letters patent had been issued in 1740, creating him "a knight and baronet of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, to have and to hold to him and to the lawful heirs male of his body." The room in which the prince held his levees in Dunblane is still shown to the visitor, and the bed in which he slept is preserved by the family of Balhaldies. After staying a night here, he went, with his army, to Doune on the 12th. He crossed the Forth on the 13th, and slept at Leckie. Next day, he and his nobles passed by the south of Stirling castle to Bannockburn house, by invitation of Sir Hugh Paterson, whose mother, Lady Jean Erskine, was

sister of the Earl of Mar, a circumstance which partly accounts for his attachment to the house of Stuart. On the night of the 15th, Charles slept in Callendar house, Falkirk, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock; and, on the 16th, left Stirlingshire by Linlithgow bridge.

After taking Edinburgh, and obtaining a victory at Preston, penetrating into the heart of England, and reluctantly retreating, we find him at Glasgow on Christmas, where the ladies especially, charmed with his princely attire and majestic bearing, became most loyal. On New-Year's night, he slept at the recently forfeited mansion of Kilsyth; and, next day, made Bannockburn house his head-quarters. His troops were cantoned in the neighbouring villages. Lord George Murray, with the divisions under his command, in which were some of the clan regiments, occupied Falkirk. In a day or two, Stirling was invested; and the magistrates, judging it untenable, surrendered by capitulation. It was then that the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, who had been deposed, eight years before, by the General Assembly, commanded two companies of the townsmen. Viscount Strathallan and Lord John Drummond had, meanwhile, joined the prince with the forces they had levied in the North. Some battering cannon from France, which had arrived at Montrose, had been sent on to Perth; and were now, with difficulty, brought across the Forth, partly

at the ford of Frew, and partly at Alloa. On the 10th, the prince broke ground before the castle, against which he was obliged to carry on a tedious siege.

Lieut.-General Hawley—a rough and almost brutal man, with a thorough hatred of undisciplined rabbles—having mustered an army of about 6000 in the vicinity of Edinburgh, marched to the relief of Stirling castle. Arriving at Falkirk, he encamped on the north-west, near the bloody field of yore, where Sir John de Græme and Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, the friends of Wallace, had testified their patriotism in the arms of death. He halted there for a few days, intending, as soon as he had obtained sufficient intelligence, to attack the foe; of whom, from what he had seen of the Highlanders at Sheriffmuir, he had formed a very low estimate. Hawley, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Hanoverian army, in place of Sir John Cope, who was beaten at Prestonpans, had, in fact, a supreme contempt for the "Highland militia," as he was pleased to call the young Pretender's troops; and, for a time, he cavalierly treated the attitude of the Jacobites.

Charles, on hearing of the approach of Hawley's force, resolved to give him battle. Marching on the 17th, from the rendezvous at Bannockburn, the "Highlanders," numbering near 9000, stronger than ever they had been before, were about cross-

ing the Carron at Dunipace, within three miles of Falkirk, ere they were perceived. The better to conceal their design, their standard, distinctly seen from the royalists' camp, continued flying; and further to divert the attention of the enemy, a small party appeared on the opposite side of the river, while the main body was making a circuit to charge on the side least expected. Then, by one of their rapid and silent movements, concealed from sight by intervening plantations, they made swiftly for the upland of South Bantaskine. Their presence all the more strikingly threw the royalists into excited disorder, on account of Hawley's absence from the field—dining at Callendar house with the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband had a command in the insurgent army, and who was herself a friend to the cause. Lieut.-Colonel Howard at once hurried to the general, who, becoming conscious of the emergency, was seen riding rapidly to his post, his grey hair streaming in the wind. The troops, notwithstanding his absence, had formed in front of the camp, on ground now known as Campfield. On his arrival, his first object was to compete with the enemy for the top of the hill. The dragoons rode up a narrow lane, still known as Maggie Wood's Loan. The foot followed with a similar show of promptitude and pluck; and the artillery, consisting of ten pieces, came last of all, driven by a few local carters, who, with their

horses, had been hurriedly pressed into King George's service. Whether from accident, or design, the cannon stuck in a swampy spot, at the end of the loan, beyond all power of extrication; and the drivers then cutting the traces, galloped back to the town. Both armies were now without artillery, for that of the insurgents was left at Stirling. The Highlanders, seeing the pedestrian action of their antagonists, ran to forestall them, displaying speed rather than arrangement; but seem to have entirely defeated even the dragoons in the competition. The MacGregors, under Glencairnaig, were the first on the hill, and took their position accordingly. The MacDonalds stood next them, as having arrived second. The disposition of the whole army was thus ruled by the incidents of the race. The insurgent force drew up in two lines, with a reserve in rear. The mountaineers occupied the front line, and their less nimble lowland auxiliaries took the second. Lord George Murray commanded the right, Lord John Drummond the left. The prince took his station in the rear of the second line, with the Irish piquets and some horse as a reserve. The government troops formed in two lines; facing those of the enemy, across a small ravine; while the convexity of the ground rendered the wings mutually invisible. The left, consisting of dragoons, and stretching along more than two-thirds of the enemy's line, was com-

manded by Hawley; the right, of infantry, partly in rear of the cavalry, and outlining, by two regiments, the left of the enemy, by Major-General Huske. The reserve, in rear, was composed of the Glasgow militia, Howard's regiment, and Argyllshire Highlanders.

At four p.m. (17th January, 1746), the armies stood within 100 yards. What followed was rather a scuffle than a battle. Hawley ordered his dragoons to advance sword in hand, and they were met by the Highlanders with their usual irregular fire. The reception, however, was warm. Several companies after the first onset, and one volley at the distance of 10 or 12 paces by the insurgents, at the head of whom Lord George Murray marched with sword and target, galloped out of sight. The dragoons had got confused; and, riding along the front of the Highland line, were further assailed with a deadly fusilade. They had also disordered the infantry next them, and caused their left flank to be exposed. The Highlanders, taking this advantage, outflanked them with the broadsword, and forced their flight. A tempest of wind and rain from the south-west had proved a powerful auxiliary to the claymore, by disturbing the eye-sight, and wetting the gun-powder of the king's forces; while the insurgents were not in the least inconvenienced. The former had been entirely routed, but for the spirited exertions of two regiments

under Brigadier Cholmondely, and of some scattered battalions rallied by Brigadier Mordaunt. These, firing briskly, greatly checked their adversaries; who fell back a little, but still kept their side of the ravine. The pursuit ceased, and the pursuers made the best of their way back. Many of the second line of the Highlanders had followed the first line as pursuers; but some of those who had not, hearing the action renewed in the dusk, and dreading a defeat, went off westward. Thus had part of either army fled. Not one regiment of the second line of the insurgents remained in its place; for the Athole brigade being left almost alone near the right extremity, joined the MacGregors and the MacDonalds of Keppoch, at the extremity of the first line. A gap in the centre was now traversed by the straggling parties returned from the chase, unable to find their former comrades, and armed only with swords. The MacGregors, the MacDonalds of Kippoch, and the Athole brigade repaired thither under Lord George Murray, and were joined by Charles with his reserve. The prince encouraged the stragglers, caused them to snatch up the muskets with which the ground was thickly strewed; and, ordering them to follow, led to the brow of the hill. This had the effect of driving back a regiment of dragoons, who were coming up, but now joined in the general retreat of the king's forces. Their cannon, which, before the

scuffle, had got mire-stuck, were taken, together with much ammunition and baggage. Hawley had set fire to the tents, which may account for short pieces of tent poles, ironshod at ends, having been got at Grahamston Foundry, during excavations a few years ago. The wood of one of the relics, which has suffered less from the teeth of time than the others, measures 15 inches in length, and the iron into which the wood is inserted is nearly 5 inches long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, tapering to a point. These seem to be the remains of tent poles, broken off at the surface of the ground in the hurried demolition of the camp. Shot balls have also been found at former times, somewhat further south; likewise a hammer of a peculiar form, supposed to have been used in wedging up the field pieces. Hawley's total loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was 280. He appears to have got utterly confused by the unexpected reversal of his too confident hopes; for unpursued, and with a large unbroken rear, he might have taken up his position at Falkirk. His retreat, moreover, seems to have been so unexpected, that a part of the Highland army had dispersed in the notion that they were beaten.

Among the slain were Sir Robert Munro, Bart. of Foulis, Col. Whitney, and Lieut.-Cols. Powal and Biggar, nine captains, and three lieutenants. The manner in which Sir Robert Munro was

killed was peculiarly affecting. His regiment, stationed in the second line, on the left wing, had been greatly disordered, and was retiring, when he, and a few brother officers, were left behind, exposed to the enemy. He had, with his half-pike, defended himself against six assailants, and killed two; but a seventh, coming up, poured a shot into his body, and brought him down. He was interred in the churchyard of Falkirk, by the brave MacDonalds, who, of the hostile party, could not but honour so noble a man. His relations erected a handsome monument over his grave. On the side facing the north, there are such emblems carved as muskets, cannon, flags, drums, &c. On the south, are the family arms, with the strange motto, "Dread God." On the west, there is a Latin inscription, of which the following English translation is given on the side facing the east:—"Here lies interred the body of Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, Knt. and Bar., Colonel of a Regiment of Foot. The life he had spent in the Parliament and camp with honour, he lost in the cause of Liberty and Religion, near Falkirk, on the 17th of January, 1746, aged 62 years. As long as history narrates the battle of Fontenoy, his courage and conduct on that day, in the command of the Highland Regiment, will be remembered. Sincere and active in the service of his friends—humane and forgiving to his enemies—generous and benevolent to all, his

death was universally regretted, even by those who slew him.

"With Sir Robert Munro was killed his brother, Doctor Duncan Munro, of Obsdale, aged 59, who, unarmed, would not forsake his wounded brother."

About four yards to the south-east of Monro's tomb, there is a flat-stone with the following inscription:—"In memory of William Edmonstoune, of Cambuswallace, Captain-lieutenant in the XXVII. Regiment of Foot, who, bravely fighting in defence of the King, and of the liberties, sacred and civil, of his country, fell in battle, near Falkirk, on XVII. day of January, 1746, aged 32 years."

At the close of the engagement, a large trench was dug, into which not only the dead but the dying were unceremoniously consigned. One of others—a poor native of Skye—was relentlessly dragged to the edge of the pit. He earnestly entreated his burialists to spare him to his friends. "Jist gang in wi' quiet," was the cool reply, "for ta prince may be angry."

During the short stay of the Highlanders in Falkirk, they treated the inhabitants with unusual lenity, on account of their connection with the Earl of Kilmarnock, and the readiness they displayed in serving the cause of the prince. But this general forbearance was not without exceptions. A small party, on the day after the battle, laid violent hands on a flaming Jacobite,

named David Watt, then the principal innkeeper in the town, brought him out to the street in front of his own door, and, setting him down squat upon the causeway, deliberately eased his feet of a pair of new shoes with silver buckles. He pled his Jacobitism to save them; but the ragged rascals, accustomed perhaps to such excuses, disregarded the declaration, ironically observing, "Sae muckle ta better. She'll no grumble to change a progue for ta prince's guid." It is said that David's Jacobite principles were a good deal shaken by this unhappy incident. On the farm of Stoneyrigg, too, the hungry heroes entered the "biggin," and demanded a substantial meal. The gudewife, at the time, was occupied with the cradle; but in illustration, as it were, of the maxim that no man can afford to be shy if needful, one of the starving loons generously offered to rock the child while the feast was being prepared, requesting Mrs. Stark, incidentally, to "heeshtie wi' a pickle preed and cheese, until the petter meat was ready." But the *kitchen* regalement, which followed the lunch, did not by any means satisfy the grasping greed of that lawless lot. The stable came to be inspected eventually; and here, amongst other stock, was a fine grey mare with which they marched off to Stirling. The laird, feeling that his uninvited guests were making rather free with his property, at once hoisted the white flag to the

house-top; but the winter afternoon being far spent, the distress signal was not seen. Leaving the steading, in a direct line with Stirling, a marsh was encountered at the outset; but through this the Highlanders boldly travelled, the mare, however, at one part, sinking almost breast-deep into the swamp. Still they were not to be outdone. Placing themselves "shouther tae shouther," some at the head and others at the tail, they speedily had the animal extricated, when Mr. Stark, seeing this performance, expressed his astonishment at their success; but the reply was as usual, curt and cutting, "Did she no ken that hersels can dae what nae ither men can dae?" In the hope, however, of wiling his favourite animal out of the clutches of the Highlanders, the laird took staff in hand, and kept close on their track to head-quarters. There he had an audience of the prince, to whom he related the circumstances of his errand. Charles at once asked a sight of the mare, and then coolly replied, "Well, gudeman, you might be proud that you had such an animal so fit for the prince's service."

Charles, with his men, remained the night after the battle at Falkirk. His army lost four captains, four subalterns, with forty men killed, and eighty wounded. In the evening, he was conducted by torchlight to a lodging which had been provided for him in the house of a Mrs.

Graham, the widow of a physician, a Jacobite, and a woman of superior intelligence and manners. This house, which stands opposite the steeple, was then the best in the town; but, according to the fashion of the times, the best room, and that in which Charles was obliged to dine and hold his court, contained a bed concealed within folding doors.

Next day, the prince returned triumphantly to Bannockburn. Lord George Murray, and the Highlanders, remained; while the Duke of Perth, with the Lowlanders, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, returned to Stirling, and resumed the siege of the castle. Most of the prisoners taken by them were sent from Stirling to Doune. Home, the renowned author of "Douglas," was of the number; but, after six days, he escaped, with some others, by a rope, made of blankets, and fastened to the battlement on the west side of the edifice, with which there was a passage from their lodgings to the top of the *keep*, through the queen's room, along the top of the battlement, and around the open court on the south side.

Hawley, though not formally condemned, was disgraced and unpopular. He had, on his return to Edinburgh, ordered several officers and soldiers to be tried for bad behaviour in the late battle; and two or three privates were condemned to be shot, and more than one officer cashiered. On the

news of the affair at Falkirk, the government committed the suppression of the insurrection to the supreme management of William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, a prince of the blood; and who, although only in his twenty-sixth year, was no common man. This youth, however, belonged to an age when high command was, in a great measure, a royal science, which men of inferior rank had scanty opportunities of studying. He was a great favourite with the army; and it was hoped that his appearance in Scotland would tend to keep alive, and increase, an interest in the existing dynasty. He came to Holyrood house on the 30th of January; and entered Stirlingshire, by Linlithgow bridge, on the 1st of February. His army, on marching out of Linlithgow, had heard two very loud sounds, resembling explosions, in the direction, and seemingly at the distance, of Stirling. It was the blowing up of the powder-magazines which the insurgents had formed. To the concussion occasioned by one of them, in St. Ninian's church, three or four of the soldiers, and ten of the natives, had fallen victims. Charles's army, spiking their heavy cannon, raised the siege of Stirling castle, and evacuated the vicinity. As an arch of Stirling bridge had been broken down by the governor, Blackney, in December, to prevent Charles's northern levies from crossing, and was further secured by troops, and the cannon of the castle; the retiring army, as formerly, when ad-

vancing, took the ford of Frew. General Mordaunt took possession of Stirling; and, next day, the Duke of Cumberland, entering it, ordered the bridge to be repaired. On the 4th of February, he marched, with his army, on his way to the north.

And what more of Charles? Enough for him is known by the disastrous and fatal issues of Culloden. Latterly titled Count Albany, he had married a continental lady. In 1761, we find him again in Britain, but for the last time, when he visited the Tower of London, and most parts of the city. Having gratified his curiosity, and affection for his friends there, he returned quietly to the continent. Eventually, he fell a prey to chagrin, both in his public and domestic capacity. His disappointments had, as is alleged, driven him to the too free use of the bottle, and the remedy, aggravating the disease, had brought on such ebullitions of passion, as caused unhappiness in his countess, and, at length, a formal separation.

Last of all, the words:—On the 31st of January, 1788, at Rome, died Prince Charles Edward Lewis Philip Cassimir Mary-Silvester Stuart, aged sixty-seven years.

David Hume, the historian, in a letter to Sir John Pringle, of 10th February, 1773, attempted to cast a cloud over the splendour of the prince's character, by saying that Lord Mareschall had a bad opinion of him, and that he himself was con-

firmed in that nobleman's impression by a conversation with the celebrated Helvetius. The controversy, apart from the subject, derives interest from the personages engaged. "That gentleman," said Mr. Hume, "told me that he had no acquaintance with the Pretender, but some time after the prince was chased out of France, 'a letter,' said he, 'was brought me from him, in which he told me, that the necessity of his affairs obliged him to be at Paris, and, as he knew me by character to be a man of the greatest probity and honour in France, he would trust himself to me if I would conceal and protect him. I own,' added Helvetius to me, 'although I knew the danger to be greater of harbouring him at Paris than at London, and although I thought the family of Hanover not only the lawful sovereigns of England, but the only lawful sovereigns of Europe, as having the full and free consent of the people, yet was I such a dupe to his flattery, that I invited him to my house, concealed him there near two years, met with his partizans upon Pont Neuf, and found at last that I had incurred all this danger and trouble for—*the most unworthy of all mortals;* in so much, that I have been assured when he went down to Nantz, to embark in his expedition to Scotland, he took fright, and refused to go on board, and his attendants, thinking the matter gone too far, and that they would be affronted by his cowardice, carried him in the

night-time into the ship—*pies et mains lies.*' I asked him if he meant literally. 'Yes,' said he, 'literally. They tied and carried him by main force.' What think you now," says Mr. Hume to Sir John Pringle, "of this hero and conqueror? Such an unaccountable mixture of temerity and timidity in the same character is not a little singular." As this historian generally favours the House of Stuart, he must be regarded as communicating, upon so grave a subject, even in a familiar epistle, the genuine impressions of his mind; and, in relation to Mr. Hume's metaphysics, it may be said, that this mixture of scepticism and credulity in the same person is not a little unaccountable. The prince's alleged cowardice (which alone Helvetius brings in proof of his general unworthiness, and which, indeed, especially in a prince and soldier, affords a presumption of depravity in other respects) is rendered highly improbable by his general conduct. Soon after the publication of Mr. Hume's letter, the following strictures, under the fictitious name of "Acasto," came out in a London newspaper. The account given by this writer, anonymous though he be, is more likely than that of Helvetius. "The publishing of Mr. Hume's letter," says Acasto, "at this time is considered an indecent attempt not only to disturb the ashes of the dead, but to throw dust in the eyes of the living, already too much blinded. That the prince was under some obliga-

tions to Helvetius is admitted. When under his roof, he happened to receive a remittance, which his sordid landlord no sooner saw, than he made a dead set at the whole of it, stating the great and eminent services he had rendered him. The prince, however, pocketing the money, retired to his chamber, but not without overhearing some indecent expressions muttered as he went out, touching meanness, dishonesty, ingratitude, and so forth. In the morning, notwithstanding what had occurred the previous night, the prince gave this son of avidity one hundred louisd'ors, observing that it was almost unnecessary to tell him, that money had been so long a stranger to his purse, that himself and the major part of his suite, were in want of many necessaries, so that he could not without the greatest difficulty spare him any more then; but should his affairs take a favourable turn, all his friends might rely upon their being generously remunerated for their kindness to him. This was the real cause of his host's animosity. As to the prince's tardiness in embarking, it has no plausibility in it, unless the following circumstance could furnish some cynic with the materials of fabrication. When about to go on board the ship that wafted him to Scotland, he was unexpectedly presented by a private hand with one thousand guineas. This event caused a delay of about twenty minutes, after the signal gun had been fired. It was requisite that the

receiver of so handsome a present should show some marks of civility to the giver, not to mention the time necessary to get at the strong box, and lodge the money."

John Home, in 1802, the date of his History of the Rebellion in 1745, says of Charles, when entering Holyrood house, that, in the opinion of some, he looked more like a gentleman and man of fashion than a hero or conqueror. "Hence," says he, "they formed their conclusions that the enterprise was above the pitch of his mind, and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved." Some might thus judge from conceived appearances. Others, however, judged differently; and such as judged favourably formed the truest estimate. Witness the interview with Charles, Boisdale, and Kinloch Moidart's brother; and Charles's landing on the mainland of Scotland with only eight men on whose services he could depend. An affecting scene almost instantly follows with Lochiel. As there was not the least prospect of success, Lochiel advised his royal highness to return to France, and to reserve himself and his faithful friends for a more favourable opportunity. Charles refused to follow his advice, affirming, amongst other things, that he only wished the Highlanders to begin the war. Lochiel still resisted, entreating Charles to be more temperate, and consent to remain concealed where he was, till he and his other friends should

meet, and concert what was best to be done. Charles, whose mind was wound up to the utmost pitch of impatience, paid no regard to this proposal, but answered that he was determined to put all to the hazard. "In a few days," said he, "with the few men I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to win it, or to perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who, my father has often told me, was our warmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince." "No," said Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me power."

Before the battle of Preston, Charles declared that he would lead on the Highlanders himself, and charge at their head. The chiefs exclaimed they were ruined and undone; for, if any accident befel him, a defeat or victory was the same to them; and that, if he persisted in his resolution, they would go home, and make the best terms they could for themselves. This remonstrance had the desired effect, and Charles did not persist.

The different accounts of the retreat from Derby agree in this—that Charles was extremely averse, and so much offended that he behaved for some time as if he no longer thought himself commander of the army. In the march forward

he had always been the first up in the morning, had the men in motion before the break of day, and usually marched on foot with them. It was different in the retreat; he made them wait for him.

Need we anticipate those proofs of heroism which occur in the subsequent part of Charles's history, when his patience and fortitude were so severely tried? It may, perhaps, be said that he had committed himself, and acted from necessity; but had not originally evinced a vigorous mind. That Charles, however, had shown his contempt of danger at an early stage, and before "his courage was screwed to the sticking point," appears from a letter of the Duke of Berwick to His Grace of Fitz-James, when he was only in his fifteenth year. "Greta, 7th August, 1734. N. S. The siege of Greta is now over, blessed be God, and, though a very short one, I suffered more while it lasted than in any siege I have been hitherto present at. You may easily imagine the uneasiness I talk of is my anxiety and concern for the person of Charles Prince of Wales. The king, his father, had sent him hither, under my care, to witness the siege, and laid his commands on me, not only to direct him, but even to show him everything meriting his attention. And I must confess that he made me pass some as uneasy moments as ever I met with from the crossest accidents of my past life. Just on his arrival,

I conducted him to the trenches, where he showed not the least surprise at the enemy's fire, even when the balls were hissing about his ears. I was relieved the following day from the trenches; and, as the house I lodged in was very much exposed, the enemy discharged at once five pieces of cannon against it, which made me move my quarters. The prince, arriving a moment after, would at any rate go into the house, though I did all I could to dissuade him from it, by representing the danger he was exposing himself to. Yet he stayed in it a considerable time with an undisturbed countenance, though the walls had been pierced through with the cannon shot. The prince's manner and conversation are really bewitching. . . . . The King of Naples is much taken with his polite behaviour, and there is not the least necessity of suggesting to him what is proper for him either to say or do."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RADICAL REBELLION.

AGAIN we have another skirmish of a still less historical character. During the revolutionary fever of 1820, a farce of a fight took place a few miles westward of Falkirk, which has been called the battle of Bonnymuir. Without entering into the details of the abortive and fatal rebellion, the wretched expedition deserves a passing word. Thus, at the outset, it may be well to note the deep political discontent and general disaffection of the kingdom at that memorable period, when not a few of our patriotic countrymen dared even to imperil their lives in the assertion of what they deemed their legal rights. All disorders, political as well as social, have their climax; and the years of which we speak were, in Scotland at least, the culminating era of constitutional martyrdom.

The original radical party, who, by the emissaries of the government, were treacherously decoyed to Bonnymuir, left Germiston early in the morning of the 25th April. Following up the

treasonable address, which, as the first step of the infamous plot, was freely posted over Glasgow, one Turner gets a few of the more impulsive city radicals gathered together, and gives them to understand that the men at Carron had all struck work for rebellion, and were moreover just waiting the arrival of a force of "friends," before seizing from the iron-works a full supply of arms and ammunition that had been secretly mustered for the radical service. No doubt their numbers were few to start with, but then they had the plausible story that a numerous body would be sure to join them in their route at Condorrat, whither King, another avowed agent of the provisional government, had gone as forerunner. Under this delusion, Hardie, who has been appointed commander of the Germiston party, sets out hopefully on the radical expedition; and, when within a mile of Condorrat, puts his little army into regular marching order—forming a front and rear rank. Reaching the tiny hamlet, no additional force, however, makes the slightest appearance; but here, King, deceitfully busy, has made another dupe of a villager named Baird, who, on the faith that "a party of two hundred well-armed men, all old soldiers, were on their way from Glasgow," succeeds in persuading some dozen of his neighbours to turn out and be in readiness with himself, to join the radical army on their arrival in the village. Of course the few raw

volunteers brought up by Hardie were all that represented the promised numbers, and the metropolitan leader is now quite chapfallen. Still King, with some further diabolical coaxing, gets the deluded party to continue their offensive expedition, in the likelihood, as he alleged, of meeting with their truant friends, who, in their marching, had possibly found it necessary to leave the public thoroughfare. Baird and Hardie are now made joint-commanders of the thirty men, who walk bravely eastward, two deep, and have each a pike in hand for the demolition of the British government. On nearing Bonnybridge, King recommends that the "army" should take to Bonnymuir—a bleak moorland which lay a short distance south—and rest there until he returned with a reinforcement from Camelon. Again, and we may add finally, were the poor fellows sold. Not a solitary radical came from the "ancient city" to strengthen their ranks; and, as for the Carron men, they too had wit enough to know, as was once expressed by Chief-Baron Richards, "that the law is too strong for rebels, and that they always carry the halter round their necks." Both Baird and Hardie saw forcibly now that it was utterly hopeless to make any movement with such a mere handful of men. They had, in fact, resolved to return at once to their homes; and were just on the eve of so doing, when up rode Lieutenant Hodgson of the

10th hussars, and Lieutenant Davidson of the Stirlingshire yeomanry, with a detachment of their respective corps. The villainous trap was at last clearly seen through; and we cannot speak of the despicable plot but with unrestrained scorn. The record of such barbarous thirst for the life-blood of even political rebels, does not reflect much lustre upon the antecedents of our "glorious constitution." The radical party were naturally thrown into the greatest consternation on finding themselves face to face with an enemy fully accoutred and trained to action. For a time they hold both hussars and yeomanry at bay, taking shelter behind an adjoining wall; and, for defence, fill the slap with pikemen. Repeatedly is the attempt made by the military to get through upon the radicals, but they are successfully repulsed by a thick mustering of pikes. Eventually, however, the horsemen get *round* to the rebel ranks, when the majority of the civilians, on Lieutenant Hodgson calling out for a surrender, throw down their pikes and run. Resistance by the remaining few is entirely useless. Eighteen of the radicals, several badly wounded, are taken prisoners, chief of whom are the leaders —Baird and Hardie; while two, more seriously injured than the rest, are left on the field for dead. One of these latter was a printer from Glasgow, named Black, who had an uncle in the person of Allan M'Clymont, weaver, Larbert.

According to Black's own story, he was flying a fugitive from the muir, when a hussar unhappily overtook him, but who, simply "dirling" the pike from his hand, told him to make quickly off. He had not gone far, however, when he encountered three of the yeomanry; and these, less humane and considerate than the hussar, cried with one voice, "Cut the radical rascal down!" when the foremost, suiting the action to the word, wounded him dangerously about the head and shoulders. He was, in fact, thought finished. But, as good luck would have it, a neighbouring farmer, at Damhead, named Alexander Robertson, happened to be about the field shortly after the skirmish, and seeing Black lying, not lifeless, though evidently at the point of death, had him carried to his house, and, with his wounds dressed, put snugly to bed. Restoratives were also prudently administered; and, what with these and good guiding, Black so far recovered as to be able, with some little assistance, to leave Damhead for the weaver's at Larbert the night following. The exit arrangements were these:—The uncle and his son James were trysted to reach Damhead about midnight, when Black would make his escape by a back-room window, wearing the farmer's blue bonnet in lieu of his own battered and haggled hat. The radical's object was to get fairly out of the sight of the yeomanry. News of his proceedings, however,

somehow reached the ears of Carnock; and the said gentleman, as may be guessed, was not long in setting out upon his track. Yet he got to Larbert just a post behind. The wounded bird had again fled. M'Clymont's house, and out-houses were thoroughly searched by a company of "sour-milkers," and an apprentice lad, of the name of Craig, who lay sick in the garret with his head bandaged, was at first sight taken for the wanted fugitive. But the mistake was soon seen; and after the family had been put on oath, that they knew nothing of Black's whereabouts, the yeomen left the house, emitting a volley of curses. One would imagine that they might have been fairly content; for, in their blood-hunting expedition that day, they had picked up no fewer than three radicals out of Camelon—M'Millan, M'Intyre, and Dawson—all of whom were afterwards tried, and sentenced to banish-ment for life. The first-mentioned, was, until lately at least, enjoying a ripe old age, amid fields of plenty, in the far uplands of Australia; and a Camelon veteran, who was also apprehended at the time as a decided radical, but who got off clear, in speaking to the writer regarding the latest news from his old neighbour and friend, remarked—"Weel, sir, had I got justice, I micht hae been jist as guid as him: a laird, tae, abroad."

But to return to Bonnymuir. Such of the revolutionists as were able for the journey, were

at once marched off to Stirling castle. It was, however, the 13th of July ere the trial of the political prisoners took place. Hardie, who was first dealt with, was found guilty on the following counts :—(2) "Levying war." (4) "Compassing to levy war against the king, in order to compel him to change his measures." Baird was found guilty only on the second count; but both prisoners were sentenced to be hanged by the neck till dead, on the 8th September, and afterwards beheaded. The execution was a ghastly spectacle. Yet the poor men went through the trying ordeal bravely. "Hail, harbinger of eternal rest!" exclaimed Hardie, as he raised his eyes to the gibbet; and, just before ascending the grim instrument of death, he prayerfully wished "a speedy deliverance to his afflicted country."

And what shall we say of the extreme severity of the government in executing, as traitors, two humble weavers, who were simply the victims of a diabolical machination? No doubt both were thoroughly in earnest for the success of the great political cause. "The rights I want," said Hardie, on his examination in Stirling castle, "are annual parliaments, and election by ballot;" and he must have known that he who, by treason, would subvert the state, is punishable by its laws. Yet theirs, assuredly, was no bastard patriotism. Then, as now, nothing intrinsically dreadful could be seen by the mass of the people in the demand of those popular

privileges. The only execution, indeed, the public feeling of that day would have sanctioned was that of Richmond, the spy, and his base and cowardly accomplices. As for Andrew Hardie and John Baird, they were, in the very dignity of their death, regarded as pure martyrs in the cause of constitutional liberty; and now, in these more enlightened times—for the conviction that the House of Commons should be an epitome of our national life was not to be quenched—when there is an almost general recognition of the fundamental principles of self-government, which is neither more nor less than the just and equitable representation in parliament of all classes of the community; they stand out from the dark pictorial canvas of the British constitution, in its stormy spring-time, as the gallant pioneers of reform at last triumphant.

> "All the past of time reveals
> A bridal dawn of thunder-peals,
> Whenever thought hath wedded fact."

In July, 1868, the Hon. Mr. John Bright, M.P., thus wrote the present editor of these volumes, relative to the Bonnymuir skirmish, and after tragedy:—

"A darker page in our history is scarcely to be found. The ministers who sent Hardie and Baird to the scaffold, and Richmond who betrayed them to their death, were infinitely more guilty than the men they legally murdered.

"Scotland now is the surest home of freedom in the three kingdoms, and I hope before long you will be able to add more strength to the Liberal party in parliament.

"If England, Wales, and Ireland were as intelligent and incorrupt as Scotland, we might have the best government in the world.

"I hope we can see some improvement throughout the United Kingdom, and that we shall see reform carried into every department of the state."

In the encounter, Lieutenant Hodgson received a pike wound through the right hand, and a serjeant in the hussars was more severely injured by a shot in the side. Five muskets, two pistols, and about one hundred round of ball cartridge were taken by the military. This battle, as we have already said, was a miserable affair, but the result showed the hopelessness of any attempt on the part of the radicals to cope with regular troops, and the political disturbances of that period speedily subsided.

CHAPTER XV.

FALKIRK.

THAT Falkirk is a town of some antiquity, as well as of historical note, cannot be doubted. Still, it is not unlike the "Reedham" referred to by Sarah Tytler in the "Huguenot Family"—an old-fashioned town, beautiful in its irregularity. In the High Street, every second house, or land, seems elbowing past its neighbour, and "birzing yont" to get a commanding situation.

During the reign of James III., the place was, for some time, occupied by the army of the discontented lords who had risen in rebellion against that monarch. His majesty intended to have attacked them here, or further east. They anticipated his purpose, however; and met him at Sauchieburn, where the conflict resulted in his defeat and death.

At Falkirk, the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed with much solemnity. Relative to this measure, there is the following entry in the records of the kirk-session. "October 31st, 1643. It is ordained that on Sunday, when the

Covenant shall be subscribed, the persons following shall attend the several parts of the kirk, viz.:—To attend the north aisle, Wastquarter and Patrick Grindlay; to attend the wast end of the kirk, John Monteath and John Wyse; to attend the east end, Walter Scott and Patrick Guidlat; to attend the wast loft, Alexander Watt and Hew Hall; to attend the east loft, Robert Burn and Patrick Guidlat."

The plague which broke out in Scotland, in 1645, raged with great virulence in this locality, and was supposed to have been introduced from Edinburgh. Those infected were confined to their houses by command of the kirk-session, and were not allowed to have any intercourse with their neighbours. The dead were buried in Graham's Muir, each grave being covered with a flat stone, and the whole enclosed with a wall.

In 1600, Falkirk was created a burgh of barony; and in 1646, in the reign of Charles I., a burgh of regality—these charters being still on record. The boundaries thus fixed, were, however, indefinite; but the ancient burgh extended about 400 yards to the north of the present steeple; 350 yards to the south, 540 to the east; and 550 to the west.

The origin of burghs belongs entirely to the Romans. These municipal institutions were introduced by Numa, who, upon his accession, divided the rival factions of Sabines and Romans

into various small societies, consisting of every profession and trade. Towards the close of the seventh century, the most important of the Italian cities united in a close and compact body, and formed themselves into communities to be ruled by magistrates of their own choosing. Ere long, the innovation found its way into France. Louis de Gros was the first in the front of this reform. He not only enfranchised the inhabitants of his own domain, and abolished all servitudes; but likewise constituted the people into guilds and corporations, to be governed by their own councillors. The great barons followed the example of their monarchs. In the course of a few years the practice was universal in France, and, spreading into Germany, was successively adopted in Spain, England, and Scotland. No doubt the great alterations which the Continental cities, in their internal government, underwent in those times, led to a re-modelling of our Scotch towns. In fact, the charters to our old burghs are all dated about that period, and differ triflingly from those which passed abroad. Our town council corresponds exactly with their senate. Their consul is our provost; their prætors our bailies; their edile, our dean of guild; and their decurions, our councillors. From some of our old statutes, we find that the term burgh was known in this country as far back as the beginning of the eleventh century; but the *Leges*

Burgorum, or burgh laws, written or collected by a private lawyer, at the request of David I., were the constitution of the ancient burghs of Scotland. And here are a few specimens of their enactments and regulations:—"That the magistrates and council in every burgh be not continued longer than a year; the old council to choose the new. Magistrates must be substantial burgesses, merchants, and indwellers within the burgh; and the best and worthiest inhabitants of the town. No stranger to continue in burgh above twenty-four hours. Provost and bailies to regulate what is taken by the innkeepers from travellers. Burgesses not keeping inns restrained from entertaining travellers, and travellers ordained to lodge in inns only, and not with their friends or acquaintances." These are random extracts, but from such samples the reader may form an idea of the stock.

The site of the High Street was feued out of the "*Terrae de Fawkirc*," by Lord Livingstone, to fifteen different proprietors, about the end of the fifteenth century, who began to build upon the rights they had then acquired, and in a short time a new town arose, superior in extent, and in the style of its construction, to the old. On one of the original tenements being taken down, the date 1513 was discovered. The building was steep-roofed, and presented its notched gable to the street. In 1606, Sir Lewis Bellendean

conveyed the lands of Falkirk to his brother-in-law, Alexander, seventh Lord Livingstone, who possessed the barony of Callendar; and ultimately, in keeping with the "lordship," we read that no person durst prosecute any calling in the town unless he had previously obtained leave from the lord of the manor, who granted him a sort of feudal charter, expede under his signature, and the sign and subscription manual of the clerk of the court of regality, which was called a burgess ticket.

There are different opinions as to the etymology of Falkirk. M. Blœu writes:—"Falkirk prend son nom de sa situation esleve, car fal ou fil signifie un lieu eminent du mot grec phalos, templum; et kerk ou kirk, que veut dire un circle, de grec kerkos; car ces anciens temples de Dieu estoient rond;" which shows he believed that Falkirk was derived from the Greek words "phalos" and "kerkos," alleging that fall or fell, signifying a lofty place, is derived from the former Greek word, "qui idem significat;" and kerk or kirk from the latter, which signifies circular, because the most ancient temples of the gods were round. Mr. Pinkerton thinks it Gothic, and in a list of analogous names in the various countries which have formerly been possessed by Goths, he finds Falkirk, and Falkenan, in Livonia, derived from the same source. Others suppose that it may have been

derived from the Latin word "vallum," a wall, and the Saxon word "kirk." The etymology given by Blœu has been described as fantastical. Pinkerton's seems to be too far-fetched; and as regards the "vallum" and "kirk," we could hardly expect that the name would be a mixture of Latin and Saxon. With as great propriety we might say that Fal was derived from "val," part of the Pictish word "Penval"—the name given by the Picts to the eastern termination of the Vallum of Antoninus. But while we are not prepared to stand to any etymon in particular, the most plausible of the many derivations of the name is "Eglais bhreac," or the spotted church. It was so called in Gaelic; also "Eccles brae," the church on the brow, and "Eglais bhris," the broken church; or, to put the latter word properly, "Eglaise bhriade." It is stated in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that its original name was "Eglish-breckk," which signifies the speckled church. Buchanan translated it into Latin—"Varium Sacellum;" and in a charter dated 1240 the church is called "Ecclesia de Egillisbrek quæ varia capella dicitur."

The early management of the town's affairs was chiefly in connection with water and cleansing, and these matters were in the hands of a body called "Stint-masters," twenty-eight in number, for considerably over a century prior to 1859, when it was superseded by commissioners

of police. That former body assessed the inhabitants annually in about £200, according to a rude method of guessing at the "means and substance" of the ratepayers. Another corporation, which has probably existed from the beginning of the sixteenth century, is the feuars, succeeding representatives of the fifteen from Lord Livingstone, and who still, through a committee annually elected, manage the property which attached to the original feus, now split up into small lots. Their yearly income is devoted to general purposes for the benefit of the town.

It was a period marked with extreme party spirit, while the Police and Improvements Bill lay at the mercy of public opinion. On Friday, 1st November, 1850, a considerable crowd of people met in the court-room, Bank Street, for the purpose of passing various resolutions condemnatory of the Act. One of these was to the following effect:—"That the Act 13 and 14 Vic., cap. 33, entituled an Act to make more effectual provision for regulating the police of towns and populous places in Scotland, and for paving, draining, cleansing, lighting, and improving the same, is unsuited to the parliamentary burgh of Falkirk, and if put in execution here would prove arbitrary and oppressive, and weigh heavy pecuniarily on the public; and that, moreover, it is calculated to create much local jealousy and expensive litigation, and therefore it ought

to be condemned and rejected, and not adopted by the burgh of Falkirk." An hour prior to the meeting, a large body of workmen marched in procession through the streets to the music of a couple of instrumental bands, carrying at the same time banners and flags with certain stirring watchwords inscribed thereon:—"Taxation without representation is tyranny, and ought to be resisted." "No vote, no tax." "Let the Whigs of 1850 fulfil their promise of 1830." "The proletarians are determined to be free." "We will only support those who will support us in rejecting the Police Bill." When the polling day came, however, the friends of the Act mustered in no stinted style, far outnumbering its opponents; and it must be admitted that in the hands of intelligent and disinterested commissioners it has done good work, at least as a sanitary reformer. Mr. Thomas Kier, of Linns, was returned Provost under the new *regime*, and filled that office till November, 1867, when Mr. John Russel, of Mayfield, was elected in his stead, and who, in his turn, occupied the position till November, 1879, when he was succeeded by the present chief magistrate, Mr. Malcolm Cockburn. Under Mr. Russel's guidance an immense stride was made in various improvements in and around Falkirk affecting the roads, drainage, and water supply. In recognition of these good services to his native town, that gentleman was entertained to a public

dinner in 1877, and presented, at the same time, with a magnificent dessert service, to which there had been nearly one thousand subscribers.

We also go back briefly upon the history of the political contests in connection with the Falkirk District of Burghs. In December, 1832—the first parliamentary session after the passing of the Reform Bill—Gillon of Wallhouse and Murray of Dunmore were the competing candidates; when the former was placed at the head of the poll by a majority of 153. Then, in 1841, Mr. William Baird of Gartsherrie opposed Mr. Gillon, and was victoriously returned by a majority of 51. In 1846, Lincoln and Wilson were in the field; when the former, a man of decided intellectual mark and senatorial accomplishments, was elected by a majority of 11. In 1851, the candidates were Baird and Loch; when the former won the day without a struggle, and kept his place until 1857, when he was unseated by the late Mr. James Merry. At the following general election, Mr. Merry, however, was somewhat dangerously opposed by Sir Frederick Halliday, who, hailing from the Carlton Club, had been a member of the Supreme Court of India, and more recently Deputy-Governor of Bengal. In his electoral address, Sir Frederick certainly showed himself capable of grasping an idea—a man of undoubted earnestness and practical insight. The present member for the burghs is

Mr. John Ramsay of Kildalton, and for the county Mr. J. C. Bolton of Carbrook, both of whom are Liberals.

With a prosperous state of trade, the local population here, for the last decade, has been greatly on the increase. In 1750, the population of the whole parish was 3,875. By 1830, the numbers were 12,649. In 1832, the boundaries of the burgh were considerably extended and definitely determined by the Reform Act, at which period its inhabitants numbered about 8,500. At the last census, in 1871, the population of the parliamentary burgh itself was 9,547, and on the lowest calculation it must now be over 12,000. In 1873-4, the valuation of the burgh was only £23,487, and in 1876-7, it had increased to £29,811—the half of which increase was in the immediately preceding year; but so briskly have building operations been carried on, during the last twelve months or more, that an additional increase of £3000 may be confidently expected in the valuation roll. As a further example of the importance which Falkirk is obtaining, it may be mentioned that the Excise Department of London and Edinburgh have lately transferred the Excise Office from Linlithgow to this town. Premises, with suitable accommodation, have been taken in Bank Street; and there can be no doubt that the removal westwards will be found more central and convenient,

both by the public and the Revenue. The present turn-over per annum is considerably beyond half-a-million.

On account of the influx of population, the demand for dwelling-houses has recently far exceeded the supply; and, had it not been for the operations of local building societies, serious evils must have resulted from overcrowding. One society, consisting almost entirely of the operative class, has been the means of forming three new streets off Graham's Road, where most of the houses are semi-detached cottages with gardens, and are the property of the members. Another private building company has conferred a great boon on the town by feuing a field which was formerly the parish church glebe, and erecting upon it houses and shops of a superior sort. The small estate of Forganhall, too, was lately bought for £3,810, the intention of the purchaser being to feu out the property in lots suitable for workmen's dwellings. But the most striking of recent buildings for domestic life are to be seen southwards. The Arnothill is already almost covered with villas and cottages. One of these latter—designed, along with several others, by a young local architect—deserves special notice. From its mansard roof, what would simply be an attic with a part of the ceiling sloping on each side, is in this structure a fine square room about ten feet high. This result is obtained by the

roof being raised at a gentle angle to a height of about eleven feet, when it becomes a flat square surface, and is surrounded with an ornamental cresting. Another novelty in connection with Mr. Roberts' houses is the introduction of electric bells. Two palatial buildings have also been erected here from plans by Mr. T. B. M'Fadzean of Edinburgh, one of which is the property of Mr. Melville. Further west the hill lies Mayfield, which, with its grounds sloping south and sparkling aquarium, looks quite tropical. Here the eye is utterly bewildered with the emerald beauty of the velvety sward and the brilliant blooms of the surrounding slopes and parterres. Trees, shrubs, and flowers of the most varied kind, and drawn from remote regions of the globe, are grouped so as to yield the largest amount of pleasure to the eye. In his conservatory, Mr. Russel has also a rare assortment of cordylines, maratas, orchids, dracœnas, and tree ferns. One of these latter, the *Assophila australis*, has already reached a height of fully thirty feet. In out-of-the-way corners are likewise seen beautiful sedums and saxifrages, forming a lovely setting for the larger growing varieties of Echinocactus and Echeverias, which the gardener has dotted or massed, as the habit of the plant suggested, with an effect altogether indescribable.

But there are several other elegant mansions

and villas lying serenely in the back-ground. In Arnotdale, many handsome shrubs and trees are again artistically set throughout the grounds. These include the golden yew, the delicate Wellingtonia, the weeping gean, with its drooping foliage and snow-white blooms; the gorgeous rhododendron plant, and the golden-tressed laburnum. On the south lawn, however, there is, perhaps rarest of all, an old Scotch yew, which was transplanted into the Arnotdale grounds from Mungalhead, some sixteen years ago. Kilns, the residence of Mr. John Gair, is another very handsome house, with a charming frontage of sward; and in the pride of the rose and rhododendron seasons, its terraces revel in a perfect blaze of bloom. Bantaskine, too, has its own peculiar attractions. Delightful is the walk along the avenue to the mansion. Among the ornamental trees, thick and umbrageous, are magnificent specimens of the chestnut, plane, and larch. Three years ago, this old estate, than which a finer, for its extent, lies not within the bounds of Scotland, was purchased from General Haggart by Mr. Alexander M'Lean of Glasgow; but, last year, it became the property of Provost Wilson of Govan. Near the house—externally a plain, yet substantial edifice—there is an old yew, which measures 70 yards in circumference. South Bankastine, which belongs to Mr. John Wilson, is a picturesque estate,

splendidly situated about 600 feet above the level of the sea, and now quite hid by the trees of the intervening dell. The view got from the handsome tower of the mansion is surpassingly grand, embracing, as it does, the whole of the historic and magnificent basin which stretches beyond the Forth to the Ochils. Outside the immediate foreground, in which Falkirk smokes serenely, we have Grangemouth, with its airy array of masts; Carron ironworks, blazing high and bauld; Larbert viaduct, kirk, and village; and to the west, the Campsie and Denny hills, now mottled with the gay and innocent riot of sunshine and shadow. The Ochils, majestically girdling all, and striped even in midsummer with "Lady Alva's Web," are also in the distance; with the kingly "Ben," towering with sun-kissed peak above Demyat, Ben-Cleugh, Ben-Ledi, and Ben-Voirlich.

Of late several important and imposing public buildings have been erected in the town. Passing, with a word, the National Bank and jail, two elegant establishments of the Scottish baronial order, there are the burgh buildings, which were begun in 1876. These offices are also Scottish baronial in style, and pains have been taken to produce a bold and effective exterior without any unnecessary ornament or lavish expenditure. A prominent feature of the erection is a mansard roof on the south-east tower, surmounted by a

highly-ornamental cresting and terminals, with arched stays and flag-staff. The height to the top of the terminal is 60 feet; and the entire frontage, on New Market Street, 42 feet. The court-room is 36 feet long by 21½ feet wide, and 19 feet high. On the other side of the passage is the council-room, 27 feet in length by 19 in breadth; and its principal window is a large oriel supported on a column. The amount of the contract was about £3,000. A sheriff-court was first opened here in 1834, for the parishes of Falkirk, Polmont, Muiravonside, Slamannan, Larbert, Bothkennar, and Airth.

Directly opposite the above buildings is the Town Hall—a reconstruction of the Corn Exchange, which was erected by the feuars in 1859. On 6th June, 1879, the memorial stone of this building was laid, with all the stir and show of a general holiday, by Mr. William H. Burns. It is in the Italian style of architecture, and measures in the interior 87 feet by 44 feet. Entrance is obtained from the east by a covered passage and spacious vestibule, in which are stairs leading to the galleries above. On either side of the vestibule are waiting rooms, with lavatories, &c. The principal entrance, however, is situated on the centre of the front elevation. The upper part of the hall measures 94 feet by 65 feet. The ceiling is divided in panels, with ornamental centre flower, and the roof supported on cast-iron

columns. It is altogether a handsome and commodious building, and is seated for upwards of 1,600. The cost was over £5,000. Still the public have the use of the hall without one penny of debt, so far as the burgh is concerned. One reason for its erection was that in consequence of the town being under the Police Act, all necessary improvements are carried into effect by general assessment, and the feuars may be said to have no other outlet for expenditure of their funds.

In its schools, Falkirk is quite abreast of the age. The education afforded at the chief of these —where the accommodation is not less excellent than the teachers are efficient—is sound, liberal, and enlightened, and would do credit to towns with greater pretensions. Six years ago, the School Board of the burgh was called into existence under the Education Acts of 1872, and it has been of great service in providing ample means of instruction for the younger "bairns." The schools under this board are four in number, viz., the Southern, the Central, the Northern, and the Bainsford schools. Here the late Dr. David Middleton, chief of H.M. Inspectors of Schools for Scotland, held the position of classical master for several years. We are silent over the yet fresh grave of this large-hearted and manly rector.

In September, 1878, a new Science and Art School was opened in Park Street by the Earl of Rosebery. The erection, which was first pro-

posed and energetically pushed forward by Major Nimmo, is of a plain Italian style, two storeys in height, and is entered by a large arched door, surmounted by a pediment, and supported by two columns. The various rooms are well fitted up, and are altogether admirably adapted for their intended purpose.

Several churches have also been erected recently in the northern district of the burgh. The first is called the Grahamston Quoad Sacra Church. The South U.P. body have likewise built, in Graham's Road, an edifice which forms one of the finest architectural features of the place. The memorial stone was laid by Sir Peter Coats, of Auchendrane, on 20th September, 1878; and the house opened for public worship, by the Rev. Principal Cairns, D.D., on 3rd July, 1879. In the centre of the front elevation there is an arched projecting door, at the sides of which are columns with carved capitals and bases. Above this doorway is a large three-light ornamental arched window, with quatrefoil and circular openings at the top, and finely carved stone panels in the lower portion. On each side of this window there is a single-light arch-headed window. The upper or south side of the front wall is ornamented by a spire, square at the base, and rises to a height of 110 feet, being of an octagonal shape above the eaves of the church. The spire has eight square panels of quatrefoil design, and also carved projecting

grotesques at the angle of the octagon. The side elevation, which faces Galloway Street, has five two-light arch-headed windows, and a side door leading to the area of the church. The back wall has two double-light arched pulpit windows, and a circular light trefoil opening, filled with stained glass. The church which, in the meantime, has only an end gallery, accommodates 600 persons.

The foundation-stone of a new Free Church was also laid on the lands of Gairdoch, at the east side of Bainsford, on 9th July, 1879. The style adopted is Gothic, having a frontage of 48½ feet. The interior of the building measures 60 feet by 44 feet, with spacious vestibule, to which there are three entrances. It is seated at present for 450, but provision is made for galleries, which can be erected at any future period.

Regarding the Parish Church, and its tower of mediæval times, much might be said. The old kirk, as we are told, was composed of patches of architecture, belonging to different periods; while the stones of its oldest portion seemed, from their blackened appearance, to have formerly had place in some fire-consumed buildings. These, in all probability, were part of the remains of ancient Camelon; that old Pictish city having, as is supposed, been destroyed by fire. We read, too, that, in 1166, Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, made a grant, by charter, of the kirk, *varia capella*, and all contiguous land belonging to him,

to the church of Holyrood and the canons serving God there, for a stone of wax *(unam petram ceræ)* yearly from the said lands. The present building, however, is totally without architectural pretensions; and, in spite of its Gothic windows, now pictorially filled, has a look of grim melancholy. It dates, moreover, no further back than 1811, the year in which the old edifice, originally founded by Malcolm III. (or Canmore, from *Cean mhore*, a great head), was razed to the ground. And in the course of that demolition, a most interesting relic was discovered in the *debris*, in the shape of a slab of white marble, about a foot square, bearing two inscriptions—one in memory of the thane, Robert Graham, the brave chieftain who first broke through the Roman Wall in this neighbourhood, and gave the rampart the local title of "Graham's Dyke." The lettering ran thus:—"*Fvneratvs Hic Dezn Rob. Graham Ille Evervs Vall. Severvs A C D 15 Fergvsivs II., R. Sco.*" The other inscription related to the foundation of the monastery, and had the date in Arabic numerals, a mode of notation which was introduced into Europe by the Saracens of Spain, but which was little known till the beginning of the fourteenth century. "*Fvndatvs Malcᵒmᵒ III. Rex Scotia A.M.* + 1057." The letter °, it will be observed, appears considerably less than any of the other figures or letters; it having been the custom of the ancient Greeks to have the omega,

and indeed all circular letters, cut smaller than their companions. The A. and M., immediately before the date, are no doubt the initials of *Ave Maria*, and the commencement of a prayer to the Virgin that she would bless and prosper the monastery.

In the lobby, or porch, of the church lie four life-size figures cut out in freestone. A pair rest on each of the two substantial pedestals of stone, erected on the east and west sides of the main entrance. There is the following inscription on the monument to the right as we enter the church: —"These effigies, believed to be memorials of the earliest feudal lords of Callendar, originally lay in the south transept of the church. In 1810, when the church was rebuilt, that transept being taken down, these figures remained exposed to the weather and to injury from the feet of passengers, until April, 1852, when they were placed on this monument by William Forbes, who, as proprietor of the estates of Callendar, feels himself called on to protect from further injury these memorials of the former barons." In the vestibule there is also a monument to the Rev. John Brown Paterson, M.A., who was minister of the church from February, 1830, till June, 1835. In the centre of the memorial there is some beautifully carved marble work; while at the side of the altar, over which droop the leaves of a few branches, stands a full-size figure, pleasantly but

pensively looking down on the profile of the deceased. Mr. Paterson, who was born on 29th June, 1804, died of fever on 29th June, 1835. He was the author of a prize essay on the "National character of the Athenians," and his "Select literary and religious remains" were published, accompanied by a memoir, in 1837. Attached to the north-east corner of the church is an antique fabric as the burial-place of the noble house of Dundas, now represented by the Earl of Zetland. Close by the east gate of the graveyard, too, may be seen the tomb, now sadly dilapidated, of the old laird of Abbotshaugh. It contains a long inscription, purporting that it is erected to the memory of Patrick Muirhead, of Rashiehill, in 1723. Rashiehill was rather a considerable man in his day, and, like a number of the neighbouring gentry, had his residence at the east end of the town, where "Rashiehill Close" still preserves his name.

Like the oak which Tennyson found garrulously given—"a babbler in the land," the wells of Falkirk furnish many an interesting story. The old cross well, which was built by the Earl of Callendar, must have been a somewhat imposing ornament. A "lion," from whose mouth ran a plentiful supply of water, faced the street; while another, on the apex of the building, bore a shield with the family arms. Here on one occasion, when riding the fairs of Falkirk—the tenure by which the

vassals of Callendar held thir feus—the Earl drew up the pageant, and with a "quaich" of the well water, drank a bumper to the local wives and "bairns." Close by the base of the steeple, or old prison at the cross, stands an admirable representation in stone of Wellington at the head of a noble and actionful steed. Remarkable genius and fidelity are displayed in the general execution of this massive memorial of Britain's Duke. As in all similar equestrian works, the horse, of course, is the most striking object represented; but the figure of the renowned warrior, wrought out in martial uniform, when caught eventually by the eye, alike charms and impresses with its careful and masterly workmanship.

Then there is Christ's well, or what is now called Greenhorn's well, to which flocks of invalids were wont to resort, in the olden times, for the virtue of its medicinal waters. And its situation, before utilitarian demands bereft it of its sylvan shade, was exceedingly picturesque. The well lay in a little nook thickly covered with bushes and wild-flowers; while the streamlet which flowed from its copious fountain sported and sang down a miniature glen. On the 12th June, 1628, a number of persons, it would appear, were brought up before the kirk-session on the charge of going to Christ's well—now a small trough of water at the base of a stone dyke—on the Sundays of May "to seek their health." The record says:—"and it is statute

and ordained that if any person or persons be found superstitiously and idolatrously, after this, to have passed in pilgrimage to Christ's well, on the Sundays of May, to seek their health, they shall repent in *sacco* and linen three several Sabbaths, and pay twenty lib., *toties quoties*, for ilk fault; and if they cannot pay it, the bailies shall be recommended to put them in ward, and to be fed on bread and water for aucht days." The Minister's well, which is still to be found in a circular recess at the foot of the old glebe, has associations even more sacred in its history, having been the consecrated fountain from which the monks of the eleventh century drew their supplies of "pure water." Of Marion's well, there is scant record. According to tradition, it got its name from Marion Livingstone—a nun of the house of Callendar, who, in the performance of the sacerdotal vow which kept her from the world, visited the well at intervals, and used its soft waters as a pediluvium. The original well, which was built round with stone, stood at the bottom of the Cladden's Brae, on the bank of the East Burn.

The town motto is—"Better meddle wi' the deil, than the bairns o' Falkirk." Another version of the same—"Touch ane, touch a'."

CHAPTER XVI.

GRANGEMOUTH.

PREVIOUS to 1790, Carronshore was the great centre of sea trade in Stirlingshire. In 1765, a shipping company was formed there, for the purpose of carrying goods to and from London, while various vessels regularly arrived with grain from the Baltic, and wood from Norway. Originally, the shipping accommodation of Grangemouth consisted alone of a tidal harbour of very limited dimensions. In 1843, a wet dock, however, was opened, capable of containing 20,000 tons, but even it, in the course of a very few years, was found altogether unequal to the demands of a rapidly increasing trade. In 1859, another large basin was built, with a width of 200 feet, while provision was made at the same time for taking vessels with timber cargoes through both docks into one of the ponds for delivery. Within the last thirty years, few seaport towns have advanced with more rapid strides than the ancient "Sea Lock." Taking an average of ten years, the number of vessels that entered the port prior to

1840 was 612, with a gross tonnage of 31,686. In 1874, the number of vessels was 1853, and the gross tonnage 393,463. In 1876, the total traffic in and out was 840,326 tons, and of that 524,526 tons were inwards—timber composing twenty per cent. of the trade. Of the inward traffic, again, 335,519 tons went by canal, and 153,355 tons by railway; only 480 tons were carted away from and to Grangemouth, though about 2,673 tons were taken into the local sawmills from the docks. Year by year the port is largely increasing in business. At present, it ranks about sixth in point of importance among the seaport towns of Scotland; and when the new docks, now being constructed by Messrs. Charles Brand & Son, for the Caledonian Railway Company, are completed, a great stimulus cannot fail to be given the general trade of the once "Sleepy Hollow." Meantime, the Caledonian Railway Company give an open preference to steamers trading regularly between this and Middlesbro', and also to Hamburg and Rotterdam, while, for a similar traffic reason, they likewise reserve berths for the Carron steamers which run to and from London. The Rotterdam and Amsterdam vessels are five in number, and belong to Messrs. James Rankine & Son, Glasgow. Their general cargoes outwards are, for the most part, pig iron and chemicals; the inward cargoes consisting of Dutch produce—sugar, fruit, &c., together with traffic from the Elberfeld district of

the Rhine. A custom-house has been established here since 1st December, 1810, and extends over the out-stations of Alloa, Stirling, and Kincardine. Formerly, all vessels belonging to Grangemouth were registered at Borrowstouness.

The town, which dates from 1777, is situated at the confluence of the river Carron and Grange burn. Its population is limited, being under 3000. This is to be accounted for from the want of houses, hundreds of labourers on its quays and in its works having to reside in Falkirk and neighbouring villages three or four miles off. It was erected into a burgh under the Lindsay Act on a petition to the sheriff in 1872, and the first meeting of commissioners took place on the 31st December of that year. Lying on the level carse, the place was badly circumstanced for sewerage and drainage. From its damp and almost swampy soil, it used to be reckoned a perfect hot-bed of fever and ague; and although the drainage of the land has mitigated the evil, it has not entirely removed it; besides the town had, until late years, been supplied with water from the canal and basins much tainted with sewage. Diarrhœa, dysentery, typhoid, and other diseases were constantly prevalent, and deaths too frequently ensued. The medical men, knowing that the water was bad, denounced it as a predisposing cause, and they suspected imperfect cleansing and drainage as another, and they were right in both. The

late Dr. Watson, who was medical officer of the local authority, was particularly earnest in pointing out these evils, and urgently pled that steps should at once be taken for having them remedied. The deceased gentleman was also the means of a comprehensive water scheme being introduced. The supply is derived from three sources, viz.:—Surface drainage, springs and bores (the latter of sand, sandstone, and clay, to depths varying from 150 to 300 feet), which combined yield a steady flow of 75,000 gallons daily, providing 25 gallons per head of the population. The spring water can, when required, be augmented to the extent of 40,000 gallons. Another source, may, in time, be taken advantage of, namely, the springs adjoining the Millhall Burn on the Earl of Zetland's farm of Gilston. The head works, which are constructed in the Millhall Valley, near Polmont, are close to the sources of supply, and consist of collecting wells and their conduits, a settling pond, filter, and intervening regulator valve well, &c.

Mr. John S. Mackay, ex-senior magistrate, has also been prominent in his good works to the town. His efforts to repress the ravages of cholera in 1832 and 1848, are, from their earnestness and self-sacrifice, well worthy of being recorded. In 1834, at the suggestion of the Governor of the Forth and Clyde Canal, Mr. Mackay was asked to raise a company for the lighting of the town, and he was successful in forming the present Gas Com-

pany, so that in the following year the place was lighted in a manner very much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants. In recognition of his long and valuable services, he was in January, 1878, presented with a full-size oil painting of himself, along with a massive silver breakfast tray and handsome drawing-room clock, with ornaments to match, for Mrs. Mackay. The present senior magistrate of the port is Mr. Hugh Macpherson, a shrewd, sensible, and successful man, who carries with him in all his actions universal respect.

Of recent buildings, the Public Institute is the principal. It is of a very plain but substantial character, and consists of two flats. Its front elevation faces Bridge Street, where we have the main entrance. The ground flat is devoted chiefly to refreshments; while the second flat is used as a lecture room, and accommodates from 400 to 500 persons. Here there is also a room in which the young men's meetings are held, and a smaller room for committee meetings. The estimates for the building amounted to £2,100, of which £150 was subscribed by the Earl of Zetland, who also granted the site at a merely nominal feu duty. The foundation stone was laid in September, 1876.

Kerse house lies on the south side of the Forth and Clyde Canal. The avenue leading to the mansion is thoroughly open, with few trees to cast a shade when "the summer sun kings it o'er the land." Yet the soil of the grounds is exceed-

ingly rich, and there is a fine free expanse of pasturage. The landscape, too, is one of rural wealth and beauty—a farm-dotted carse, with its noble cincture of hills now bathed in a flood of purple light. The earl's residence is no pillared palace—a building, in fact, severely plain. But the whole demesne is of the most simple and ordinary character, and favoured only on rare occasions with the presence of the noble inheritor. The ancestors of Sir James Stuart Menteth, Bart., of Mansfield House, New Cumnock—the Menteths of Rashie and Alva—for more than three centuries held possession of this estate, together with that of Randiford and Newlands. Indeed, these same Menteths were, at one time, the largest proprietors of the district. In 1638, the lands of Kerse were purchased by Sir Thomas Hope, king's advocate, from Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth. Many years ago, they were bought by Mr. Lawrence Dundas, merchant, Edinburgh, who was created a baronet in 1762; and, in 1794, his son, Sir Thomas, was raised to the Peerage under the title of Lord Dundas. He died in 1820, and was succeeded by his son, Lawrence, who, in 1838, had conferred on him the title of Earl of Zetland. In consequence of his death in the following year, the estate and honours fell to his son, Thomas, the present earl.

The project of a navigable communication through the isthmus, between the Forth and the Clyde,

appears to have been entertained even in Charles II.'s reign, though not acted on. It was revived in 1723; when a survey of the scheme was made, under the auspices of government, by Mr. Gordon, author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, who seems to have filled the double office of civil engineer, and military antiquary. In 1761, the late Lord Napier, at his own expense, employed Mr. Robert Mackell to survey anew and estimate. Mackell's report was favourable; and being laid before the Board of Trustees for the encouragement of Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland, led them to employ the celebrated Smeaton to make another survey, and to estimate for a canal 5 feet deep. His estimate amounted to £80,000. The Glasgow merchants declared for a canal 4 feet deep, the estimate for which, £30,000, they subscribed in two days. The Scottish nobility and gentry, differing from both classes of the canal patrons, obtained an Act of Parliament for one 7 feet deep, the estimate of which was £150,000. The subscribers were incorporated under the name of "the Company of Proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Navigation," their joint stock to consist of 1,500 shares of £100, with liberty to borrow £50,000; the holders of 5 shares to vote, by themselves or proxies, and be eligible as managers. No doubt the increase of trade between the east and west coasts of Scotland, together with the great expense of carriage by land, led to the project of thus uniting

the eastern and western seas. The work, from the many difficulties which were encountered in its execution, was most appropriately called the "Great Canal." Rocks, quick-sands, roads, and rivulets had all to be overcome in the line of the navigation. Operations were commenced at the east end on 10th July, 1768, under the direction of Smeaton, when Sir Lawrence Dundas, of Kerse, performed the ceremony of cutting and removing the first spadeful of earth. There was, however, no such thing as a "silver trowel" in those days. On the anniversary, in 1775, the workmen engaged had completed the canal to Stockingfield, within 4 miles of Glasgow. In 1777, a side branch was finished to Hamilton Hill, where a basin was formed. By adding, afterwards, to the banks, the canal was in effect deepened to 8 feet. On 28th July, 1790, the navigation was opened from sea to sea, by the Chairman of the committee, accompanied by the Magistrates of Glasgow, pouring into the Clyde a hogshead of the Forth; the ceremony being witnessed by a vast concourse of people from all quarters. Eight acres were now purchased nearer Glasgow than Hamilton Hill, and a larger basin formed, called Port Dundas. A junction, for the supply of water, was hence effected with the Monkland Canal, which belongs to another company, and extends 12 miles eastward, into the Monkland parishes.

Some idea may be formed of the nature of the

undertaking when it is stated that the canal, in its course of thirty-five miles, passes over forty aqueduct bridges, and is crossed by thirty-three drawbridges. The largest of the former is that over the Kelvin, which was begun in June, 1787, and finished in April, 1791, at a cost of £8,500. It consists of four arches, with a height of 83 feet —the valley spanned being upwards of 400 feet in breadth. Mr. Robert Whitworth was at that time engineer, and with great energy and skill conducted the whole work till its completion. The medium width of the surface of the canal is 56 feet, and of the bottom 27 feet. Between Grangemouth and Port Dundas there are twenty locks, and nineteen between the "great aqueduct" and Bowling Bay.

Although at one period the funds of the company were in such a depressed state that the stock frequently sold at fifty per cent. below par, the navigation ultimately redeemed itself, and developed into one of the most remunerative and popular of traffic industries. In 1799, in consequence of an arrangement with Pitt, an Act was passed accumulating the whole principal sums and interest due to the proprietors into a capital of £421,525, and this amount, divided by 1,297, the number of the shares of stock, made each share £325, on which a dividend of ten per cent. was paid at Martinmas of the following year, the company having previously paid off a debt of

£70,000, which they had borrowed in virtue of one of their Acts. For the year 1800 the revenue was £21,607, 6s. 8d., and the total expenditure £9,497, 6s. 5d. In 1814, when the revenue amounted to £51,071, 8s. 10d., and the expenditure to £16,791, 9s. 8d., the company made a dividend of £15; in 1815 it was increased to £20; and in 1816 to £25. Prior to 1808 they had two track boats on the canal, which were run three times a week, carrying passengers and goods. The tonnage dues from sea to sea were 5s. 10d.; from Grangemouth to Glasgow, 3s. 10d.; and from Bowling to Glasgow, 2s. But this system was found both inconvenient and tedious; and the company got built, for passengers alone, the 'Margaret,' 'Charlotte,' and 'Star.' These boats were drawn by two horses, and left Lock 16 and Port Dundas every lawful day. The passage of thirty-five miles was performed in five and a-half hours, and was divided westwards into the following stages:—Castlecary, Auchinstary, Sherva, Kirkintilloch, Cadder, and Port Dundas. The cabin fare was 4s., and the steerage 2s. But, by and bye, came 'The Rapid,' the first of the swifts, which was built at Tophill. On the day of the launch, so high rose enthusiasm that the "bairns," who mustered numerously, carried the boat shoulder-high to the starting lock. The whole travelling arrangements were now complete and elegant. An exciting spot—gay, heart-

some, and bustling—was the "16" of those days, and few hotels more stirring and comfortable than that of which the genial and gentlemanly Rankeillor was host. 'The Rapid' made the journey to Glasgow in three and a-half hours. "Prodigious!" will no doubt be the vehement exclamation of many an heir to the present flying locomotive age, when the same distance can be done in about thirty minutes. But with one or other of those jolly and courteous captains—Napier, Risk, and Hay—at the helm, the passage from beginning to end was replete with interest of the most stirring sort. Veterans who remember when six passenger boats plied daily on the Union and the Forth and Clyde Canals, and when horses, with their red-coated and cocked-hat riders, did the duty of steam, must heave a sigh for the "good old days," on seeing what remains of the water passenger traffic between the two great Scottish cities. The tiny screw vessel which, in the summer season, still plies between Port Dundas and Castlecary, is the last link in the history of the swifts; and there can be no doubt that the Kelvin Valley Railway, lately opened, will completely annihilate the old system. An afternoon, however, with the skipper, who is a genuine type of the old Scotchman, and the scenery of the sail, is thoroughly enjoyable.

The late Mr. Thomas Wilson, of Tophill, and latterly of Grangemouth, built the first iron boat

for the canal company, which was launched at Fasken, on the 20th May, 1818, and christened the 'Vulcan.' This was the commencement of the use of iron in Scottish shipbuilding. Two small boats had previously been built of iron in England; but, with these exceptions, the 'Vulcan' was the first iron vessel constructed. Her builder had great difficulties to contend with. In an account of the same, which he wrote some years ago to a friend, he said:—"There was no angle iron in these days, nor any machinery, except an old-fashioned piercing machine, a cast-iron grooved block to form the ribs, a smith's fire; and one foot, knick'd at a heat, was considered good work." The vessel was designed by the late Sir John Robinson, of Edinburgh, and was so substantially constructed, that she is still afloat and doing duty. From time to time iron inventors have come forward and patented what they fancied new improvements in the construction of iron ships; but, when the way to prosperity seemed clear before them, an examination of the old 'Vulcan' ever proved that they had been forestalled, and consequently the patents became null. In 1826, the 'Cyclops' followed from the same builder. She was, however, eventually altered into a paddle-wheel steamer by Mr. John Neilson, of Oakbank. So much for the Forth and Clyde Canal and its earlier history. It still continues to have a profitable trade in goods;

and, since it has been managed by the Caledonian Railway Company, the shareholders have received a yearly dividend of from six to seven per cent. The chief carriers are Messrs. Burrell & Son, Messrs. J. & J. Hay, Messrs. Burrell & Haig, Mr. James Duncan, of Auchindavie; Mr. Malcolm Maitland, and Mr. John Gillespie.

But there is another association connected with the canal that cannot be left unnoticed. The hull of the first steamboat, the 'Charlotte Dundas,' lay for many years in a creek between Locks 8 and 9. The vessel was built in 1801, for Symington, by Mr. Hart, of Grangemouth. She was 56 feet long, 18 feet beam, and 8 feet deep from deck to keel. Of his earlier experiments Symington thus writes:—"I proceeded to erect a steam engine upon the principle for which I had previously procured a patent, having two cylinders of 4 inches in diameter, each making an 18-inches stroke. This engine having been constructed by my direction and under my eye, I caused it to be fitted on board a double-keel vessel then lying upon a piece of water near the house of Dalswinton; and this being done, an experiment was made in the autumn of the year 1788, when the boat was propelled in a manner that gave such satisfaction, that it was immediately determined to commence another experiment upon a more extended scale, which was made on the Forth and Clyde Canal. The machine was executed at

Carron ironworks under my direction, and was erected in a boat belonging to Mr. Miller, which had been previously built and fitted up with paddle-wheels for the purpose of making experiments as to the effect of these wheels turned by the labour of men already prescribed. I fitted into this boat a steam-engine with two cylinders, each 18 inches in diameter, and making a 3-feet stroke; and in October, 1789, in presence of hundreds of spectators, who lined the banks of the canal, the boat glided along, propelled at the rate of five miles an hour."

But though the 'Charlotte Dundas' was, some years ago, totally sundered, her timber, for the most part, has been respectfully preserved. A good deal of it, in fact, has already passed into appropriate models and articles of furniture; while Mr. Ralph Stark of Summerford still holds a considerable quantity of her "ribs."

It must, however, be borne in mind that one Jonathan Hulls of England, in 1736, obtained a patent for the propelling of boats by steam; but the engine of his vessel was so imperfect, as regarded the application of power, that the invention in his hands never came to aught. And the old 'Comet' has been spoken of as the first steamboat. But the credit of such a performance can neither be given Bell nor Fulton. The former, we know, long before the 'Comet' came out on the Clyde, was a close and frequent in-

spector of Symington's vessel during the many years that she lay in the canal creek; and was likewise a spectator of the experiments in 1789. Fulton, too, in 1801, called purposely on Symington to see his boat; when he candidly remarked that such an invention would be of even greater importance in North America than Britain, on account of the many navigable rivers and lakes in the transatlantic country, and the ease with which timber, both for building and fuel, could everywhere be had. And need we add that it was 1806 before Fulton's steam vessel made its appearance on the Hudson river. Symington assuredly would have made more of his invention in 1789, had the Forth and Clyde Canal Company not given him the cold shoulder. The reason for such discouragement on their part was the grievance thus stated:—"The undulation of the water from the paddle-wheel action would have the effect of washing away the banks of the canal."

Symington received but a miserable reward for his great and inestimable services. On two occasions he got from government paltry sums, amounting in all to £150—a poor recompense for his long and arduous labours, to which we owe our magnificent modern steam navigation; and which, while they have promoted the wealth and best interests of his country and the world, debarred him from rising to that position of affluence

that, had he exercised his talents in some paying department of his profession, he would certainly have attained. His last patent expired in 1812; and immediately thereafter sea and river began to teem with steamships—the direct fruit of his unconquerable perseverance and brilliant inventive genius. He now reposes in the humble churchyard of St. Botolph's, London, without even a stone to mark his resting-place. Could national ingratitude further go?

CHAPTER XVII.

KILLEARN AND KILSYTH.

THIS district is chiefly known as having been the birth-place of the celebrated George Buchanan, poet and historian. Part of the farm-house, called The Moss, on the banks of the Blane, in which he was born about February, 1506, remained until 1812, when a modern mansion was built on the site. The old house had a thatched roof resting on oak spars; and out of the latter a chair and table were made by the late proprietor as memorials of Buchanan's birth. Few eminent scholars of the past have been more misrepresented and misunderstood than this master-wit and satirist. Even by many intelligent Scotchmen of the present day, he is principally regarded as a king's fool and buffoon. His *Rerum Scoticorum Historia* seems to be as little known, virtually, as his *Franciscanus*—a Juvenalian satire of matchless merit. As a

specimen of his genius in epigram, we quote the following lines on Pontiff Pius :—

> "Heaven he had sold for money,
> Earth he left in death as well;
> What remains to Pontiff Pius?
> Nothing that I see but hell."

George was the third son of Thomas Buchanan of Moss, by Agnes, daughter of Heriot of Trabrown in Berwickshire. His great-grandfather, Patrick Buchanan of Buchanan, was the maternal grandson of Murdo, Duke of Albany, by Isabella, daughter and heiress of Duncan, eighth Earl of Levenax. It would therefore appear that, in the historical representation of the marriages of Robert II., which went to set aside the right of the reigning branch of the Stewarts to the crown, Buchanan was not biassed by any attachment to ancestry. With the assistance of a maternal uncle, he spent his boyish years in study at Paris. His father had died early, and left a wife and eight children to struggle with the bitter privations of indigence. Before the end of two years, by the death of his uncle and his own weakly constitution, George was necessitated to quit the French capital. Having, in his native air, regained his health and strength, he served in the inglorious expedition against England commanded by Alexander, Duke of Albany, and Regent, and, from the hardships he underwent, had a relapse of

sickness. At eighteen, having again recovered, he went to the University of St. Andrews to hear John Mair's lectures, and was matriculated along with his eldest brother Patrick. He obtained the degree of B.A. on the 3rd October, 1525, and, as appears from the register of the Faculty, was an exhibitioner. Returning to France, whither Mair had gone, he became a student in the Scots College. On the 10th October, 1527, he was incorporated a B.A., and next March received the higher degree.

Luther, who had begun to preach his new doctrines in 1512, had by this time gained many converts. Nor was the young Scotchman insensible to the charms of truth. His avowed change of religion, however, was an obstacle to his preferment; and it was not till the end of two years that his talents had got him the petty professorship of the College of St. Barbe. But apparently he had lost his two younger brothers, for in 1531 a lease was granted on the estate of Cardross in Menteith, by the commendator of Inchmahome, to Agnes Heriot, and her sons, Patrick, Alexander of Ibert (father of Thomas, Lord Privy Seal), and George. Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, who resided in the near neighbourhood of St. Barbe's College, became his pupil from 1532 till 1537, when the two proceeded together to Scotland. While staying at the earl's country seat, the Lutheran convert, with more zeal than

prudence, wrote a poem entitled *Somnium*, a satire on the Franciscan friars, which made them his enemies. James V. had, meanwhile, appointed him to superintend a natural son of the same name with the celebrated Regent Moray, and in 1537 made commendatory abbot of Melrose and Kelso, whilst the other obtained the priory of St. Andrews. Buchanan, notwithstanding his known opinions on religious subjects, was noticed by the Archbishop of Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar. Afterwards, with the countenance of James V., he wrote other two satires against the Franciscans—*Palenodia* and *Franciscanus*—in which he exposes their ignorance, irreligion, and immorality.

In 1539 many suspected of Lutheranism were persecuted; and Buchanan, proscribed by the cruel primate and unprotected by the fickle monarch, had maliciously imputed to him, as a crime worthy of death, that he had, with some others, at Winchburgh, eaten the Paschal lamb like a Jew. He was in consequence arrested, and with difficulty escaped through a window in the castle of St. Andrews while his keepers were asleep. Finding his way to London, he was patronized by Sir John Rainsford; but failed in an attempt to attract the notice of Henry VIII., and passed over to Paris. Finding his arch-foe Cardinal Beaton there as Scottish ambassador, he was induced, by the invitation of Andrew Govea, principal of the College of Guienne, in the city of

Bourdeaux, to go thither. Here he was appointed one of the professors before December, 1539, and taught Latin. Students then exercised themselves in the representation of Latin dramas, and the new professor furnished four of his own composing—*Baptistes* and *Medea*, *Jephthes* and *Alcestis*, the latter two of which are, by the critics, considered as the more highly finished. The *Medea* and *Alcestis* are translations from Euripides, the others are originals, and have been translated into various languages. Some of his minor poems, written during his residence at Bourdeaux, particularly one to Briand de Vallee, savour of that licentiousness which he had formerly stigmatized in others, and, whatever their poetical merit, form a pitiful contrast to his sacred lyrics. He occasionally enjoyed, by travelling to Agen, the society of the elder Scaliger—once, like himself, the youthful soldier, but now the literary veteran. Cardinal Beaton tried to have Buchanan arrested at Bourdeaux, but in vain; and the death of James V. put an end to his apprehensions.

Having been three years at Bourdeaux, he removed to Paris, and in 1544 was regent in the College of Cardinal le Moine, where, as appears from his poems, he became a victim to gout. He is thought to have continued here till 1547. At any rate, he this year, with Govea, adjourned to the newly-founded University of Coimbra, of which his friend had, by the Portuguese mon-

arch, been appointed principal; Buchanan himself and his brother Patrick, professors. Govea died the following year, and the Portuguese having heard of Buchanan's heresy, and that of his associates, prosecuted them, and accused them of imaginary crimes. After being harassed by the Inquisition for a year and a-half, he was confined in a monastery to be instructed by the monks. During the two years he resided here he commenced, as a consolatory exercise, his version of the Psalms.

At length, he obtained his liberty, and was pressed to remain in Portugal, but sailed to England, and went thence, in 1553, to France. He obtained the regency of the College of Boncourt; and, in 1555, was chosen by the Comte de Brissac, domestic preceptor of his son, Timoleon de Cosse, and placed at the council board with the chief officers under the command of that celebrated warrior. During the five years of this connection, he resided alternately in France and Italy. The precise date of his return to Scotland is not known; but he certainly was at the Scottish court in January, 1562, and, in the following April, read, every afternoon, with Queen Mary, then in her twentieth year, a portion of Livy. He inscribed to this accomplished lady his version of the Psalms, which was published about the same period. He had addressed her in a Latin poem on her first nuptials; and celebrated in a similar strain the

birth of King James. The queen, in 1564, conferred upon him the temporalities of the abbey of Crosraguel, worth £500 Scots, or £41 14s. 4d. sterling, annually. In 1566, the prior of St. Andrews, afterwards Regent Moray, to whom he had two years before inscribed his *Franciscanus*, appointed Buchanan principal of St. Leonard's College. He now lectured on theology; was repeatedly a member of the General Assembly, and, in 1567, moderator. The imposition of hands had not yet been practised in the reformed church of Scotland; and the difference between a minister, and a professor of divinity and abbot of Crosraguel, could not have appeared very great. He had published his *Fratres Fraterrimi* some years before; he, now, at the earnest request of some friends, sent out his *Elegiæ Silvæ, Hendeca-Syllabi;* of which he says, in a prefatory epistle, at the age of sixty-one, "I was not extremely solicitous to recall them from perdition; for the subjects are generally of a trivial nature, and such as at this period of life are at once calculated to inspire me with disgust and shame."

Queen Mary had been dethroned, and had fled into England. Queen Elizabeth, on Mary's submission, acted as umpire between her and her subjects; and Moray the regent, being required to appear before her by delegates, but finding none to go, went in person, and took with him, amongst others, George Buchanan. The latter, now, com-

posed, in Latin, "A Detection of Queen Mary's Actions," which was produced to the commissioners at Westminster, and circulated by the English court. The particular circumstances in which this composition was produced give it very much the appearance of a special pleading. We can hardly conceive, indeed, that any hot-tempered man, in such times, and so situated, should remain uninfected with party spirit. Thuanus, no friend to Mary, says, in a letter to Camden, that Buchanan had perhaps written too harshly. The latter is affirmed, but without sufficient evidence, to have been pensioned by Mary's mortal foe. That Elizabeth had intended to allow him, and twenty-three others in Scotland, £100 a year, appears from an extant list, in the royal archives. On the 23rd January, 1570, the regent was assassinated; and, to his surviving friends, Buchanan addressed, in the Scottish language, a paper entitled, "Ane admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis Mantenaris of the Kingis Graces Authoritie. M. G. B. Imprentit at Striviling be Robert Lekprevick, 1571." It was about this time that, in the *Chamæleon*, written also in Scotch, he exposed the wavering politics of the Secretary Maitland.

He was now called to superintend the education of the young king; when he resigned his principalship. Stirling castle was the theatre of James's education. A very old house opposite

Argyll's lodging is said to have been built by Buchanan. He was made Director of Chancery; but soon quitted this office for that of Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the seat in Parliament attached to it. On the 30th April, 1578, for the sake of conveying the reversion, he nominally resigned in favour of his nephew, Thomas, son of Alexander Buchanan, of Ibert, yet continued to act as a legislator. He presided, in Stirling castle, in a committee of learned men, to furnish a Latin grammar for the schools, when he also composed the prosody. It did not, however, continue long in use. In 1593, in consequence of an appointment of Parliament, he acted as a commissioner to visit, and point out the means of reforming, St. Andrews University. It was he who wrote, on that subject, a memorial, which was ratified by Parliament on the 11th November, 1621, but repealed on the 4th August following, and a copy of which, entitled "George Buchanan's opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St. Andrews, written with his owne hand," is preserved in Advocates' Library. He was also tutor of the heir of Drumikil, the family from which that of Moss was descended; and had, several years before, written his dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos.* It was printed, by royal authority, at Edinburgh, in 1579. The conversation is supposed to pass between the author and Thomas Maitland, a younger brother of William, satirized

in the *Chamæleon*. Both were then, or subsequently, brothers-in-law of Buchanan's relation, Heriot of Trabrown. The subject is professedly the Rights of the Scottish Crown; but really a subtle delineation of the general principles of jurisprudence. His admirers, whilst they hold the soundness of his general principles, admit, with becoming candour, that some of his illustrations are not introduced with sufficient caution.

When seventy-four years of age, he, at the earnest entreaty of friends, became autobiographer, and executed the difficult task with a modesty and candour worthy of so exalted a genius. He had occasionally employed himself, during the twenty years he had latterly resided in Scotland, in writing her history. It issued from the press of Alexander Arbuthnot, her Majesty's Printer, in 1582, with the royal privilege, and inscribed to the king. Archbishop Usher is of opinion that no writer had investigated the antiquities of his country with superior diligence. This, however, is an equivocal compliment; for it may be asked what diligence his precursors had exercised. That he should have overlooked some things is not so much to be wondered at, as that he should have noticed so many. He has indulged in a superfluity of warmth at the antiquarian reveries of a contemporary author, Humphrey Lhuyd. Of the twenty-four books into which his work is distributed, the first three form properly an introductory disserta-

tion, in which, as Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch says, in a letter to David Buchanan, quoted in MS. by Bishop Nicolson, he "is the railer and not the historian." These seem the last composed. His narrative begins with the fourth book; and, even here, a fabulous elegance, and a confusion of chronology, are the general characteristics. He seems thus to have initiated his royal pupil, for whose benefit, in no small degree, he professes to have written, not in the wisdom only, but in much of the folly also of his kingdom. Nor was his irascible example, and his unmanly behaviour, to the Countess of Marr, calculated to subdue James's apparently natural propensity to tyranny and rudeness.

He has, at the outset of his history, copied, with implicit credulity, the fables of that notable impostor, Hector Bœyce, whose elegantly written work, asserting of "claik geese" that they spring from worms hatched under water, and other fooleries, had been much in vogue at the Scottish court, and, at the command of James V., translated by Bellenden, for the use of such of the nobles as had missed their Latin. Buchanan, indeed, acknowledges that Bœyce is not to be excused. He does not, however, always follow him even in the earlier part, and as might be expected, prefers what Ptolemy and Antonine's itinerary say of Camelodunum. The Peutingerian table, found about this time, in Germany, had, probably, been

unknown to him. He has laid down such rules, for the trial and better discovery of genuine and false antiquities, as his history but partially illustrates. One is, that, where modern historians differ from the ancient Roman, in matters transacted under their first emperors, we are not to believe them rashly. He had neither seen any of the inscriptions of Antonine's wall bearing the emperor's name, though he speaks of many stones discovered here, nor was he acquainted with that passage of Capitolinus, in which speaking of Antonine, he says, "He subdued the Britons by Lollius Urbicus, his lieutenant, and removed the barbarians by drawing another wall of turf across the island." Had he possessed the adequate information, he would not have called it Severus's, nor attributed to him the original construction. Of the Roman footsteps, and stations beyond the wall, he was not aware. Neither is his account of Bassianus and Carausius less an offence against his own excellent canon. He had repeated that fabulous catalogue of kings which the happier discoveries of less eloquent writers have since exploded. With a writer, who says that in history severe truth is a cardinal requisite, and avers Buchanan's "soothfastness" regarding events near his time, we wish we could agree; but, of some within two centuries of his mature death, and involving the most serious practical consequences, the historian of Scotland has laid himself open to

animadversion in several respects. Mr. Stewart of Torrance, in 1789, procured, from the Vatican, authenticated copies of the dispensations for the marriages of Robert II., and proved, contrary to Buchanan's circumstantial statement, that Elizabeth was the first of his queens. Fordun, who was contemporary, affirms her marriage to have taken place, "canonically and according to the forms of the church, in 1349;" and of Queen Eupheme he says that "she died in 1387." Robertson's Index of Charters, published in 1798, contains notice of one, by Robert II., "28th February, 1388-9, to the kirk of Stirling, of a passage boat on the Forth, with a croft of land, for the soul of our late dearest spouse Eupheme Queen of Scotland." Of what Archbishop Spotswood had called Buchanan's "bitterness" in writing of Queen Mary, it has been remarked, by Dr. Irving, that Buchanan "was not himself an eye-witness of every transaction of his own age, and, amidst the animosities of that outrageous period, he must chiefly have derived his information from the adherents of one party." A namesake, and not distant relation, David Buchanan, remarks, in MS. notes quoted by Bishop Nicolson, that George did not possess all those little helps for the investigation of obscurities and the refutation of errors, which the labour of learned men had more fully supplied in his own day. Of Buchanan's historic style, a point, no doubt, subordinate to research

and veracity, it has been justly said, "that it betrays no symptoms of the author's old age and infirmities; it is not merely distinguished by its correctness and elegance, it breathes all the fervent animation of youthful genius. . . . It is not his chief praise that he writes like a diligent imitator of the ancients, but he writes as if he himself were one of the ancients."

At Edinburgh, on Friday, 28th September, 1582, departed this life, in his seventy-seventh year, George Buchanan, commendatory abbot of Crosraguel, lord keeper of his Majesty's privy seal, a member *ex-officio* of the Scottish parliament, principal preceptor to the king, and an author, both in prose and verse, who, notwithstanding many imperfections, has adorned the Latin language, and exalted the Scottish nation. His remains were interred in Greyfriars' churchyard. According to Sir Robert Sibbald, who flourished about a century after, his tomb, at an interval of some years, was opened, and a skull, supposed to be his, and so thin as to be transparent, was, by the suggestion of Principal Adamson, deposited in the University library, where it is still to be seen.

Buchanan was scarcely in his grave, when his memory was assailed, both by private contradiction and public authority. In 1584, the parliament, during the first session after his death, passed an act anent slanderers of the king, his

progenitors, estait, and realme, "Forasmeikle as it is understand, to our sovereign lord, and his three estates assembled in this present parliament, quhat great harme and inconvenient has fallen in this realme, chiefly sen the beginning of the civil troubles, occurred in the time his hienes minoritie, throw the wicked and licentious publick, and private speaches and untrue calumnies of divers his subjects, to the disdaine, contempt, and reproach of his Majesty, his councel, and proceedings, and to the dishonour and prejudice of his hienes, his parents, progenitours, and estate, steiring up his hienes subjectes theirby to misliking sedition unquietness, and to cast off their due obedience to his Majestie, to their evident perril, tinsel, and destruction. Attoure because it is understand to his hienes, and to his three estaites, that the buikes of the Chronicle, and De jure Regni, apud Scotos made be umquhile Maister George Buchannane, and imprented sensine, conteinis sundrie offensive matters, worthie to be detecte. It is therefore statute and ordained . . . that the havers bring them to the secretary, within 20 days, under the pain of 200 pounds, that they may be purged, &c." These works, however, found their way to the continent entire, and there underwent a second edition. The history had gone through seventeen editions. A complete edition of his works, with the exception of the Scottish compositions, and his

opinion of the University of St. Andrews, was published by Ruddiman, in 1715. Burman published a complete edition of his Latin works about the same time. The following indecorous passage in Heylin's "Cosmographie," shows how greatly political zeal is apt to warp the judgment on general subjects. It is the more remarkable as being published under the Usurpation. Speaking of the learned men of Scotland, the prolix geographer says—"George Buchanan, an ingenious poet, but an unsound statesman, whose historie and dialogue *De jure Regni*, have wrought more mischief in the world than all Machiavel's works; not to be remembered here, but because he was pædagogue, to Sixth King James, of most famous memory; whose printed works declare his large abilities in all kinds of learning." In 1683, the University of Oxford publicly burned the political works of Buchanan, Milton, and several others.

In 1788, more than two hundred years after his death, a number of gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Killearn resolved to erect a monument to the memory of Buchanan. At first, the intention was to have it placed at the head of Buchanan Street, Glasgow; but a spot nearer his birth-place was ultimately selected. It stands in the village here, beautifully situated. Its form is that of a well-proportioned obelisk, of white millstone grit, which, with a base 19 feet square,

reaches a height of 103 feet. Its cost was £295. The foundation stone was laid by the Rev. James Graham, minister of the parish, and under the same was deposited a crystal bottle, hermetically sealed, containing a silver medal with the following inscription :—

"In memoriam
Georgu Buchannani,
Poetæ et historici celeberrimi
Accolis hujus loci, ultra conferentibus,
Hæc columna posita est 1788.
Jacobus Craig, architect, Edinburgen."

Killearn is evidently compounded of the three Celtic words, *Kill-ear-rhin*, signifying cell, or church of the west point. Such an etymology, at all events, is descriptive of its situation ; while, with consent of the patron, it was erected into a prebend in the cathedral church in 1429, by John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow. Both parish and neighbourhood were, for a considerable time, unhappily exposed to the plundering inroads of large companies of migratory freebooters, who for safety lurked in the borders of the Highlands. These depredators made frequent incursions into the parishes of Buchanan, Balfron, Killearn, Dumbarton, &c., and carried off all the cattle they could find. This infamous practice was continued so late as the year 1743. Long before that, however, some gentlemen near the borders

of the Highlands, undertook, for certain sums of money, to protect the property of their neighbours, and to make a full recompense for what was stolen from them. The money paid for this protection was called *black mail*, and was paid agreeably to a bargain concluded upon by the two contracting parties.

The old church and burial-ground have, lately, been greatly improved by the heritors. A recess, or side-room, that had been erected by one of their number, for his own accommodation and comfort, and which was out of harmony with the original building, has been removed; while a number of decayed trees, several of which had fallen and broken the church-yard wall, have also been cut down, and the roots of the few which remained comparatively fresh lifted—these having become so large and so long, that it was scarcely possible to open graves in their immediate neighbourhood.

Apart from its surroundings, there is little connected with Strathblane of special interest. The hills here rest upon a sandstone running west towards Benlomond, and are capped with masses of trap. Their highest point bears the name of "The Earl's Seat," which is 1,400 feet above the level of the sea. Scotch firs, and larch, Huntingdon willows, black poplars, and gnarled oaks are the trees common throughout the district. On the pavement of the parish church a monumental

slab is thus inscribed:—"Here lyes in the same grave with Mary, Countess of Angus, sister of King James I. of Scotland, from whom he is lineally descended, Archibald Edmonstone, Esq. of Duntreath, in this kingdom, and of Redhall, Ireland, who died in the year 1689, aged about 61 years." Mary Stuart, daughter of Robert III., was thrice married. Her third husband was Sir William Edmonstone of Duntreath, in whose burial-place she was interred. The grave was opened about forty years ago, when the skull of the deceased princess was found entire. She was mother of James Kennedy, and of Patrick Graham, who were successively bishops of St. Andrews.

On the southern side of the valley, eastwards, rises the wooded cliff where Lennox castle is perched. It nestles there as snug and strikingly defensive as castle could do, embowered among hardy trees. The house, which is in the boldest style of the old Norman architecture, from a design by the late David Hamilton of Glasgow, was commenced in 1837, and finished in 1841. We are now in the heart and centre of one of Scotland's loveliest straths. Far out towards the west you can see the blue summits of Highland hills. The mist has just risen from their lofty peaks, and in the clear sunlight their dim heights are vaguely pencilled against the sky. Conspicuous among the neighbouring seats are the estates of Craigbarnet, Glorat, and Woodhead.

Campsie was a parish of some note in Catholic times. Its parson was sacristan of the cathedral of Glasgow, where he resided, being one of the canons. Lamberton, Beaton, and W. Erskine, were all of them parsons here, and served the cure by a vicar. The old clachan church stood at the opening of the far-famed "Kirkton Glen." From what of its ruins remain, it appears to have had no architectural pretensions. The first Presbyterian minister admitted was Mr. Stoddart, and of the fourteen clergymen who held the living from that year, 1581, till 1825, when the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod was admitted, two were translated, five deposed, and one, John Collins, murdered by the laird of Belglass, on returning from the presbytery in 1648.

Lennoxtown is a street set down in the centre of the strath for the purpose of accommodating the labourers employed in working the mineral and other manufactures of the surrounding district. The most extensive of the public works is Lennox-mill, which was first established as a calico printing field about 1786. In 1790, it contained twenty printing tables, and six flat presses. At that period, however, a great many women were employed to pencil on colour—a method which has been entirely abandoned. About 1805, Messrs. Robert Dalglish, Falconer & Co., became tenants of the mill, which had by that time been considerably enlarged, as it contained fifty

tables and eight presses. In 1810, the first surface-printing machine was erected, it being an improvement on the copper-plate press, similar to what the "surface" was on the "block." Here, every fabric of cloth is printed—from the finest muslin, or challis, to the coarsest calico. Kincaid field, for the bleaching and printing of cotton fabrics, was started in 1785 ; Glenmill bleachfield, and Lillyburn printfield, for the printing of linen and calico handkerchiefs, in 1831 ; the Alum work, in 1806 ; and a manufactory for the production of muriate of potash, and of soda ash, in 1834. With the introduction of these various industrial establishments, the population of Campsie rose rapidly from about 1785. In 1783, it was 1,627 ; in 1793, 2,517; in 1831, 5,109 ; and in 1836, 6,000.

The parish church, which occupies a commanding position near the centre of the village, was erected in 1829. It looks, however, much older, from the soft and inferior quality of the stone with which it has been built. Its style is Gothic. The Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, previously at the clachan, was the first minister of the church; and, in 1836, was translated from this to a Gaelic charge in Glasgow. His more popular son, of the same name, who, with his *Good Words*, will be long and affectionately remembered, lies interred in the north-east corner of the high burial-ground ; but, as yet, without any memorial. True ! he needs it not.

Milton lies two miles further east. It is a hamlet where peace and industry seem united in tolerably equal proportions. Through it the Glazert passes, getting up the appearance of a very respectable stream, as it runs in a brown torrent, speckled with foam, beneath the bridge. At Birdstone, a number of English coins, of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., have been found, which had probably been hid by some of the inhabitants, when forced to flee from their homes by the depredations of Montrose's troops at the battle of Kilsyth.

By a viaduct, 120 feet long, the Kelvin Valley Railway crosses the Campsie and Killearn branch, and also clears the Glazert water. This railway, which was formally opened on 3rd June, 1878, is about twelve miles in length, and extends from near Maryhill, on the North British system, to Kilsyth; placing that town, by means of a loop-line near, in direct communication with Glasgow. Strange that the directors of the "old E. & G." carried their line to the barren heights of Croy, instead of coming up the fertile valley of the Kelvin, rich also in mineral resources. But a direct route and a dead level way between the two cities were the objects mainly contemplated.

Kilsyth—*Kil-abhuinusith*, "church of the river of peace," anciently Monysbrock, or Monasbrugh—was founded prior to 1217. So early as 1586,

Alexander Livingstone, of the family of Callendar, was parson of the parish; and, in 1599, was succeeded by his son, William, then a considerable heritor here. The first Presbyterian minister admitted was James Hay, who came from Kilmalcolm in December, 1692. The present parish church, which adjoins the old house of Kilsyth, at the west end of the town, was erected in 1816. An excellent bell was, at the same time, placed in the building by the late Sir Charles Edmonstone, but it was unfortunately broken in 1823, from the bellman having lengthened its tongue, to outpeal the neighbouring one at Kirkintilloch. A new bell, however, was ultimately supplied, which has a fine silvery tone. A tombstone, which was placed here, in 1850, by Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Baronet, of Duntreath, commemorates Jean Cochrane, Viscountess of Dundee, wife of the Honourable William Livingstone, of Kilsyth, and their infant son, who were killed, in October, 1695, by the falling in of a turf roof of a house in Holland. In 1795, the vault, over which the church at that time stood, having been accidentally opened, the bodies of Lady Dundee and her son, which had been embalmed, were found in a remarkable state of preservation.

Half a century ago, hand-loom weaving, to the order of the Glasgow manufacturers, was the principal trade of Kilsyth. But now its interests commercially are solely connected with coal and

ironstone. The population of the parish in 1811 was 3,250; at present it numbers 6,313, of which 4,895 are in the town.

The antiquities in the district are the ruined walls of Colzium castle, which occupy a fine elevation immediately above the glen; an old house, in the hamlet of Arnbrae, where a room is still shown, in which Cromwell slept; and, on the east side of the romantic glen of Garrel, the Covenanter's Cave, having the date 1669 inscribed on its stone, or arch.

CHAPTER XVIII.

KINNAIRD AND DUNMORE.

IMMEDIATELY to the east of the Kinnaird mansion—a house built to be lived in, not looked at—we have one of the prettiest objects on this old estate, in the form of a magnificent arcade of lime trees. Within the garden there are also two planes of gigantic dimensions, growing side by side, with a rustic seat between, which were planted by Bruce, the preacher, and his wife in commemoration of their marriage. It was here where the distinguished divine passed away, without pain or sickness, in August, 1631, aged seventy-seven years. When his sight failed him, he called for the family Bible, and asked his finger to be placed on Romans viii, 28, and told those present that he died in the faith of what was there contained.

It was within this house, too, that Bruce, of Abyssinian fame, met with the fatal fall. The trophies which he brought with him from abroad are here carefully preserved, and form an interesting little museum. There are among other me-

morials of the exploratory tour, a cloak and cap—hemp-woven, and clad with feathers of scarlet and black—which were presented to the traveller by the chief who murdered Captain Cook; a petrified impression of a horse's knee-joint, wonderfully distinct; a phial of water from the "fountain" of the Nile; a numerous assortment of reptiles in bottles; the clock, carried by Bruce over his rambles, which has a pendulum of triangular devices; a great old astronomical quadrant of brass, of two or three feet radius, a camel's load of itself; some rifles, Turkish sabres, and other arms from the Levant; helmets from Otaheiti; various fragments of Egyptian antiquities; a number of small antique bronzes, and Greek and Roman coins collected by Bruce in the countries which border the Mediterranean. The works contained in the portfolios consisted of architectural drawings of the Roman triumphal arch at Tripoli, and of aqueducts and other ancient buildings, near the site of Carthage, on the north-east coast of Africa, and unpublished botanical drawings of Abyssinian plants; and likewise a host of other odds and ends, all interesting, more or less, from certain associative stories of their own. But there was also an Ethiopic version, from the Greek, of the Book of Enoch, which the traveller placed in the hands of his countrymen by his Abyssinian expedition. These prophecies of Enoch and Noah, were well known to the early fathers of the church, although

they had been entirely lost sight of during the middle ages. The work, however, is generally considered apocryphal, and no doubt belongs to a period prior to that of the Christian era. The traveller had the panels of the base of the book-cases ornamented with figures, painted in the style of the Herculaneum fresco figures, by David Allan of Edinburgh, an eminent artist of that time.

Bruce was a keen sportsman, and used to go in the season to a place thirty miles off in the Highlands, on Loch Lubnaig, called Ard Whillary, the shooting and fishing belonging to which he rented. In an enclosure of a few acres at Kinnaird, he had some fallow deer, and would show his skill as a marksman, by bringing down a fat buck with his rifle, when he intended to give a venison feast. He had a pair of swans to ornament his pond, and the neighbours said he was wont to pass off his geese for swans too.

At Kinnaird, we are on the threshold of a vast coal seam. And connected with pit No. 10 is an old engine which was erected in 1786, by Symington, for Bruce, the traveller. Although now groaning sadly under the pressure of years, the huge machine, as a pumper, has still few equals in Scotland. Previous to 1775, all the hewers and coal-bearers connected with our collieries, were held in bondage as serfs, and were actually transferable with the pits to which they were attached.

Nor did the Emancipatory Act of the year mentioned do more than set them nominally free. On account of the vagueness of certain of its conditions, it failed virtually to emancipate the class for which it had been passed; and not until 1799 were the colliers completely relieved from their degrading servitude. Their slavery, no doubt, grew insensibly with the demands of commerce and manufactures in the seventeenth century. It was necessary, because no one would do the drudgery of the mine to the satisfaction of the mine-owner, in the amount of work and its price, unless under compulsion. And hence it was something far worse than any feudal serfdom—just as the commercial slavery of later times in America, in the plantation gangs, was something far more cruel and terrible than the domestic slavery practised in the households of the early settlers. But the pitmen of those days groaned under the yoke of various other barbarisms—certain of which, however, were altogether self-imposed. The time is not yet so far gone when the wives and daughters of our miners also wrought under-ground; and well may every human feeling recoil at the bare mention of such "vulgar matrimonial crimes." But these women, in their sphere of social ostracism, knew nothing better. They simply regarded the pit as the only means by which they could earn an honest livelihood. Indeed, it was considered a most impru-

dent step for a young collier to marry a lass who could not wear the male-jacket and "huggers," and be below with him early and late to assist in the conveyance of the loaded hutch from the workings to the bottom of the shaft.

Close at hand, there is the site of Great Hall at Scaithmuir—the house in which Sir Reginald Moore for some time resided; and who, moreover, fell into possession of said lands by his marriage with a daughter of Graham of Abercorn. A short distance east of Anton's Hill, lies Mount Jerrat, with trees covering the ground upon which once stood a little chapel, that gave its name to the neighbouring burn whose waters, a stone-cast to the south, are collected into two small reservoirs—the one for the driving of a corn-mill, and the other for the grinding of wood-char used at Carron. The Nailor Row, a brick village, is so named from having been in former days a nail manufactory, under the management of the Caddells. The Bothkennar lands were purchased in 1363 by Sir William Moore, son of Sir Reginald. Strangely enough, Timothy Pont spells the place Both-kettard. *Bo* is generally thought to be a corruption of the Celtic *mo*, or *maogh*, a plain. Thus Bothkennar, or Mo-Kennar, will signify, "plain of the western headland." During the many centuries that Roman Catholicism was the religion of Scotland, the district belonged to the celebrated abbey of Cambuskenneth; and out of

the parish the crown received a yearly feu-duty of some twenty-six chalders of grain; while six chalders were likewise handed over to the abbacy above-mentioned. In 1587, William Couper, bishop of Galloway, and author of some sermons and theological tracts, was ordained minister here; and remained in that capacity until 1595.

The present church is a somewhat antique and barn-looking house. It is, however, the oldest kirk in the district; and, with all its architectural simplicity, was erected at no small cost and trouble. From the sandy and brittle nature of the soil, an eminent metropolitan architect had to be engaged ere the foundation of the building could be laid. The site, together with that of the heartlessly neglected burial-ground, was granted by the Dundas family of Carronhall. William Nimmo, author of the first edition of this history, was minister of Bothkennar when he wrote the work; and he had formerly been assistant to the Rev. Mr. Gibson of St. Ninians. The accomplished scholar and antiquary died in 1780. A nunnery once stood on the present glebe, and several stones of the celestial asylum are yet to be seen. It is also worthy of note that Bothkennar was the last parish in the shire served by an Episcopalian minister. The locality at present is famed for its fruit.

Between this track and the neighbouring firth Letham Moss intervenes — *leth-amh*, literally

"half-ocean," the division of what is subject to be overflown by the sea. In 1764 the wide peat waste was suddenly floated from its original bed a considerable distance northwards; and so violent was the action of the water welling forth from its million cavities that the wreck covered fully an acre of soil.

> "Ay! this is freedom—those pure skies
> Were never stained with village smoke;
> The fragrant wind that through them flies
> Is breathed from wastes by plough unbroke."

The moss view is extremely barren; something *sui generis*. As far as the eye, from some points, can see in an easterly direction, not a tree, bush, or patch of green takes pity on the bleak expanse to break its dull and dead monotony. Timber, however, rich and rare, lies in great abundance within and underneath the moss. Some few years ago, while a number of workmen were trenching in an adjoining field, they came upon a black oak of extraordinary dimensions embedded in the clay. Its circumference, exclusive of bark, was 9 feet 6 inches; and, according to ordinary calculation, the tree must have taken five or six centuries to reach that gigantic growth. When the timber was cut up, it was found in body healthy and solid. The oaks thus got year after year in the track of the old Caledonian forest invariably lie with their tops to the north-east.

Beds of sea-shells, several inches deep, are also met with in many parts of the surrounding district; hence the very reasonable supposition that the waters of the Forth at one period rose as high as the lands of Kinnaird, though they are now about three miles distant.

In Airth village, which may be said to skirt the shore of the firth, there is little to interest. Thomas Lyle, the author of "Kelvin Grove," who died in Glasgow in 1859, was for some years surgeon here. The public "cross" was erected by the Elphinstones. On the south the pillar displays the Bruce arms, with a lion for the crest; on the north are those of the house of Elphinstone, with the motto, "Do well, and let them say," and the further inscription, "C. E. 1697." Charles Elphinstone, it may be remembered, was killed in a duel near Torwood by Captain William Bruce of Auchenbowie. But what of the purpose of such a cross? For one thing, it can scarcely be regarded as any special landmark, there being no boundary requirement. Neither can it have been erected, so far as business went, as a dumb monitor for fair dealing in the market-place. Yet, in the past, stone crosses were built for a variety of uses. Among other things, they were held as peculiarly efficacious in the cure of disease that had even set at defiance the most popular of natural remedies. And we also find King Kenethus II. of Scotland decree-

ing that "all sepulturis sall be holdin in reverence and awe; croce set on thame, that no man sould stramp (tread) thereupon."

The trade of Airth, prior to the year 1745, was considerable; but thereafter gradually declined owing to the burning of a number of vessels at that period. The rebels having seized a small ship at a narrow part of the Fallin, by means of it transported a number of brass cannon to the harbours of Airth and Dunmore, near each of which they erected batteries and placed their "guns." Upon the king's vessels arriving from Leith to dislodge them, a reciprocal firing began, when the commanders of the former fleet, finding their efforts ineffectual, sailed down with the tide, and gave orders to burn all the vessels lying on the river-side, to prevent them falling into the hands of the rebels, who might have used them as transports, and harassed the people. The loss of these vessels was severely felt by the inhabitants of Airth, and their trade ultimately passed to Carronshore and Grangemouth. The population of the parish in 1811 was 1,727; it is now only 1,395, of which 520 are in the village.

Dunmore is enshrouded in deep plantations. The ancestral mansion, however, is totally without ornament. East and north is a terrace garden, rich in the *Cedrus deodora*, Portugal-laurel, etc. Here, too, the pampas grass may be seen, with its feathery tufts and spear-like

branches. Several exquisite panoramic views are to be got from this point. Alloa tower, where the old Earl of Mar resided, is within range, together with Clackmannan tower and Stirling castle.

The garden entrance is under a pine-apple of freestone. It is a masterly work, octagonal in shape at the base, and takes the form of a dome for the apple. The interior resembles the cavity of a bell. Nothing could be more artistic, in its way, than this clever piece of masonry—a most complete and creditable counterfeit of the pine fruit, with its crisp, projecting leaves.

The family chapel, elegant within and without, is approached by a leafy-roofed avenue. Delightful is the walk through this cathedral of nature. A plate within the little sanctuary bears the following inscription :—"To the glory of God, and in memory of her husband, Alexander Edward, 6th Earl of Dunmore, this church was dedicated by Catherine, Countess of Dunmore, in the year of our Lord, 1850." The windows, for the most part, are filled with Scriptural emblems ; while the Decalogue occupies the wall of the chancel. Along the nave are various Biblical selections. One of the most touching of the artistic works is a memorial of marble to Elizabeth Wadsworth, wife of Charles Augustus Murray, who died at Cairo, 8th December, 1851. The death-angel points the mother heavenward ; but she, though

compliant in look, yet clings to the bairn to be left for a time behind. A tower stands close by the chapel, which formed part of the old Elphinstone castle. The under portion of this building is the mausoleum of the Earls of Dunmore. Monuments have also been erected here to the two latest earls deceased. The one to the memory of Alexander Edward is an obelisk of Aberdeen granite, and weighs upwards of twelve tons.

But what of the "woods of Dunmore," so famous in song? In summer, the foliage of the trees everywhere forms a "bosky umbrage," grandly variegated. As seen from the neighbouring straths, the woods display a spread of hues changeful as the colours of harlequin's coat. April, too, so shortly past, is a merry month with the crows, Dunmore being one of the most extensive seats of incubation. In this "sweet-coloured evening," the birds, perched in thousands across the dense mass of trees, are more than usually loquacious. But powder and shot will soon silence their clamour. And the rooks have always been a persecuted tribe. The service rendered by the destruction of noxious grubs is never felt proper compensation for the havoc played in the potato field. James I., some three hundred years ago, passed a law relative to "ruicks," which was in effect:—"That ruicks be not suffered to big in trees; and where it be

tainted (legally proven) that they big, and the birds flown, and the nest found at Beltain (1st May, old style), that the trees be forfaulted to the king, with five shillings unlaw."

Not an oak, but a fir, is monarch here. The tree is said to contain upwards of 250 cubic feet of timber, and, as may readily be imagined, stands a noble specimen of the Scotch pine. The largest tree in Scotland, however, is a fine old oak, contiguous to Tullibody house, the property of Lord Abercromby. In that tree there are about 600 cubic feet of measurable timber. In the Dunmore forest, marked with many a winding path, the naturalist will find much to interest him. The wood-reed, meadow-grass, (*Poa sylvatica*,) grows luxuriantly. We saw a plant of the same, 7 feet in height; and a stalk of the sea-lime grass, (*Elymus arenarius*,) which measured 4 feet 10 inches. Striking deeply into the woods, we came upon a considerable area of the *Aconitum napellus;* and also discovered a fern, by no means attractive, compared with its magnificent and stately neighbours, but which the practised eye of a botanist could not pass over amid the vulgar throng. The *Lastrea cristata* is a fern so rare, that Hooker has not dared to give a habitat for it in Scotland; while Hennedy indicates only one. This plant delights to inhabit a boggy heath, and such was the soil on which we now stood. We must confess to a

high admiration—a love that we have never found misdirected—for those lovely and ever-interesting occupants of the wayside and woodland. In their graceful curves, in the delicate tracery of their fronds, in the beautiful effects of colour, and of light and shade, which they present, none of the lowlier growing plants come near them.

Nor can the old quarry be overlooked, out of which the stone of the present mansion was taken. It is, however, quite unlike its natural self—at bottom a miniature valley of shrubbery, carpeted with radiant turf; while the rocky slopes are ivy-fringed, and starred with many constellations of the flowering year. Here, also, is a rustic summer house, thatched and walled with heather. Encircling it, are various specimens of the *Wellingtonia gigantea*. And now appear the hermit's cave, and elfin boulder. The latter curiosity, as the legend goes, was cast by a witch from the Ochils upon a trio of banditti, who were thereby crushed unmercifully into the nether world. The very finger-marks of "Hecate," the beldam, were shown us. The boulder, in plain language, is a conglomerate of sand and channel, and has its position, no doubt, from glacial action. On this point, indeed, the evidences of the crag and tale are quite conclusive. In an earlier geological period, a great sea swept boldly from the north-west, joining the Atlantic with the

German ocean; and the gigantic icebergs which were transported by marine currents to the south-east, must naturally have deposited many of the monster boulders everywhere found across the neck of land under consideration.

Between this and Dunmore moss there are acres of beautiful ferns, although the varieties are not numerous. The *Aspidium filix-mas* occupies fully seven-eighths of the wood; and the variety *Asplenium filix-fœmina* is also met with occasionally. The moss lies upon carse-clay, and is from ten to fourteen feet in thickness. It is of large extent, and was lately covered with stunted heather; but a great fire swept over its surface some years ago, leaving the mossy track a veritable black wilderness. At the present time, this wide and bleak region exhibits a striking contrast to its surroundings. On every side for miles there are pleasant fields of grass or cereals in a thriving condition, with plantations in various stages of growth and beauty. Across the dark expanse are numerous piles of peat which have been cast and stocked by the local farmers for boiler fires, and sale in the out-lying villages. And of the fuels obtained from the earth's crust, the most obvious and accessible is peat. It is strictly a vegetable accumulation—mosses, rushes, grasses, heaths, and other marsh plants contributing to its growth, the rate of which is very difficult to approximate. Throughout the country,

however, many peat-bogs show an accumulation of from three to five feet since the time of the Roman invasion, now nearly eighteen hundred years ago.

CHAPTER XIX.

LARBERT.

LARBERT, notwithstanding its significant etymology, is no field of action; rather a quiet and stirless sort of village, with a parish population of about 5,000. But half a century ago, when the late Mr. Ramsay, of Barnton, drove his "four in hand" for the conveyance of travellers between Stirling and Edinburgh, and *vice versa*, the dull monotony of the place was at intervals relieved by a passing excitement. This hamlet, in its water power, offers rare resources for manufacturing; and the wonder is that some busy mill has not ere now been erected here. The Caledonian Railway also runs within gunshot; while an abundance of female labour might likewise be had from the adjoining districts.

Entering the churchyard, the ruins of the "old kirk" first arrest attention. The house, which was of oblong form, and severely plain, was built by Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who for many years officiated as pastor. But nothing whatever of the old sanctuary remains save the walls of the

session-house, within which lies the dust of several members of the ancient families of Elphinstone and Dundas. Contiguous to the church entrance, stood the "Deil's Stane;" so called from its having borne those foul images of mortality, the skull and cross-bones. How infinitely more worthy of a Christian country the spiritual symbolism which heathen philosophy and art delighted in—a butterfly arising from a chrysalis? Here moulder the ashes of Bruce, who was buried directly underneath the pulpit. It was this manly, resolute, and learned Scot who had the somewhat extravagant compliment from James VI. of being "worth half of the kingdom;" a kingliness of character, however, which, with the fickle monarch, afterwards led to Bruce's imprisonment and temporary banishment. A simple stone, rudely sculptured, marks the spot of his sepulture. Thus runs the inscription:—"Christos in vita et in morte lucrum." An iron railing, chaste in design, has lately been placed round the grave.

Another tomb-stone indicates the last resting-place of the Rev. Francis M'Gil. The brief career of this talented young minister was marked by few eventful incidents, but the acceptance with which he laboured among an affectionate and appreciative people in the assiduous discharge of his pastoral duties, made his premature death a bitter heart-grief throughout the united parishes

of Larbert and Dunipace. Ordained in 1843, he died, January, 1847, in his twenty-eighth year. On the north side of the monument we have the last text from which he preached,—John ix. 4. There are other inscriptions which speak eloquently of the deceased clergyman's worth in the pulpit and family, but this laconic epitaph might, of itself, have sufficed:—*Obdormivit in Christo.*"

The Rev. John M'Laren, with an assistant, is presently minister here and at Dunipace. After a hard and bitter contest, through another presentee, he succeeded Mr. M'Gil, and soon won, as he has retained, the sincere respect of all classes of his parishioners.

In the north-west corner of the churchyard an iron railing, of good height, surrounds the burial-place of the Carron family. Within the enclosure stands a tasteful obelisk of granite to the memory of Joseph Dawson, who was manager for the company, from 1825 to 1850; and immediately behind this is a structure, chaste and simple, to Joseph Stainton, who preceded Mr. Dawson in office, while on the south side a mausoleum, in the form of a small Greek temple of elegant proportions, has been erected over the grave of William Dawson, late manager of the works. At one end is a gate of beautiful bronze work, having an open lattice in its upper half, through which a view may be had of the interior. In this

shrine, or cella, which is lighted from the roof, a marble statue, representing the "Angel of the Resurrection" was placed a few months ago. Carved out of a speckless block of white marble, the statue rests on a low basement of bluish grey Sicilian, harmonising in style with the architecture of the mausoleum. The figure, which is on a scale somewhat larger than life, has been designed in a sitting posture, body and limbs being draped in a loose robe, through which the contours are freely expressed. The right hand grasps a straight trumpet, which is held in a diagonal position across the breast, while the left rests easily on a closed book lying upon the lap. The head is held erect, with an upward look that indicates expectancy, and with this the whole attitude happily corresponds, the disposition of the lower limbs bespeaking readiness to rise on the giving of the watched-for signal.

But the tomb-stone here of real note is that over the remains of James Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, who achieved, in part, what mankind had been struggling after for three thousand years —the tracing to its source of the Bahr-el-Azrek, or Blue Nile. Down in a sheltered enclosure to the south of the churchyard stands the spiral monument, wrapt in utter stillness, and which, adorned with various emblematical figures and Greek inscriptions, was erected by Bruce to the memory of Mary Dundas, his wife, who died

February 10th, 1785. On another side we also read that "In this tomb are deposited the remains of James Bruce, of Kinnaird, who died on the 27th April, 1794, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His life was spent in performing useful and splendid actions; he explored many distant regions; he discovered the fountains of the Nile (?); and traversed the deserts of Nubia. He was an affectionate husband, an indulgent parent, an ardent lover of his country. By the unanimous voice of mankind, his name is enrolled with those who were conspicuous for genius, for valour, and for virtue."

> "Rear high the cenotaph of stone and lime:
> 'Tis all ye can do; he hath done the rest.
> Fame is his heritage; impartial time
> Shall know him when the walls are ruin-drest."

Some twenty-three years ago, a loudly called-for addition was made to the burial ground, by the yet thinly tenanted "acre" that adjoins the manse garden on the west. Among the first entombments here was that of a local lad, Tom Aitken, who was cut off suddenly in the spring-time of life, while showing unmistakeable signs of genius and high achievement. His nature was winning and gentle, yet full of force and character.

> "'Twas in the flush of fiery youth he went,
> His work unwrought, his laurel wreath unwon."

The intense and wide-spread excitement which

prevailed in the earlier part of the present century from the cruel trade of body-snatching, must be fresh in the memory of many still alive. In grave spoliation for purposes of dissection, only one "subject" was known to have been taken from the Larbert burial ground. It was that of a girl named Moir, whose corpse was lifted shortly after interment. But the young "Athenians" were not allowed to carry her far. On their route to Edinburgh, they had, for the night, to conceal the body in a dung-heap at Polmont; and the proprietor's carts proceeding in the morning for a portion of the manure, the diabolical theft was opportunely detected. Nor did the upturning of the corpse create any great surprise. Its presence, at least, was no matter of prolonged bewilderment. The student enterprise was caught at a glance. Night again came, and watch was laid for the return of the "burglars"; and, just as had been anticipated, forward drove the Surgeon Square party for the body. No sooner, however, had they left with their charge, than Mr. Scott, of Gilston, rode smartly on in front of them; and, by the time they reached Linlithgow, the whole strength of the town was turned out for their defeat. Rough, indeed, was the usage they received. Not only was the corpse most unceremoniously taken from the conveyance, but the machine itself was drawn to the roadside and broken to fragments. The body of the young

woman was afterwards brought back to Larbert and reinterred. For some months after this, the watch-house—still standing in the churchyard—was regularly occupied. Latterly, however, burial ground watching became a mere farce.

A curious class of friendly societies arose out of the resurrectionist panic which thus set in, about 1829, on the detection of Burke and Hare. They were called mortcloth, or mortcloth and safe societies. The mortsafe was a heavy metal case, or a wooden-house with a stone, which was put over the coffin of the dead for some weeks after interment, and watched by a party of members, to all of whom both mortcloth and safe were free; but, at the same time, were let out on a charge to non-members.

We have spoken of the old kirk of Larbert. But what of the new? Of the common Tudor style, it is yet a model edifice, and charmingly situated on the north bank of the Carron; whose lullabying waters, now in pools, now in shallows, wimple peacefully down through the gleaming arches of the adjacent viaduct. Soothingly sweet, too, almost beyond rivalry, are the melodious tones of its Sabbath bell.

Larbert house, for many years the residence of the Stirling-Chalmers family, lies concealed on the north. The estate, though small, is finely wooded—a really pleasant loophole of retreat, and was lately the property of Mr. John Hendrie,

coalmaster, Glasgow. Here, also, in the valley of the river, on the former site of a snuff-mill, are the Carron Company's grinding works for the polishing of smoothing-irons, and other metal articles requiring high finish.

Stenhousemuir, once known simply as Sheeplees, has now a population of fully 2,000. The houses of the orderly little hamlet, chiefly one and two storeyed, have an exceedingly clean and comfortable look; and belong, for the most part, to the occupants who are employed at Carron. Southwards, the village view is beautiful, embracing the Falkirk braes, with a lovely undertract of country; and on the east, the thick woods of Callendar, with the hill of Cocklerue, which stands 911 feet above the level of the sea. The only public works in the immediate vicinity, in addition to those at Carron, are the foundry of Messrs. Dobbie & Forbes, and an extensive timber-yard belonging to Mr. James Jones. In February, 1861, a penny savings' bank was started in the village by several local gentlemen, the present membership of which is about 400; while the weekly deposits average £20. In 1862, its capital on hand was £353; in 1867, £675; in 1872, £1,028; in 1877, £1,884; and in 1879, £2,105.

A handsome public hall, which has been erected near the south-east end of the tryst ground, speaks of the local volunteers. Through the

purchase of shares, individually, to a gross capital of £400, these riflemen got themselves furnished with the above fine building, which includes an excellent officers' room and armoury. An extensive library, consisting of popular modern works, has also been added to the other advantages of this "enterprise" on the part of the Carron corps.

At the east end of the muir we have the Free Church—an unassuming building with burial-ground attached, of which the Rev. Finlay Macpherson is pastor. The Rev. John Bonar, latterly of Glasgow, who was first and former minister here, came out of the local parish kirk at the Disruption of 1843, and many of the inhabitants must still have a vivid recollection of the services given by that earnest divine the Sabbath following the leave-taking at Larbert. The people, of whom there were a considerable number, met under the shade of the grand old thorn, near Torwood glen, which may still be seen in a green and fruitful maturity, marking the spot of the excommunication of Charles II., Duke of York, by the persecuted but undaunted Donald Cargill; and the scene was undoubtedly impressive as the long grey locks of the impassioned preacher ever and anon rose and shook in the breezy air.

The estate of Stenhouse, the property of Sir William C. Bruce, Bart., lies about a mile to the

east. The founder of this family was a brother of Robert Bruce of Kinnaird. His eldest son, William, a man of splendid parts, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., in 1629. Stout in heart, strong in limb, and sound in brain were several of those forerunning Bruces. There was even the Sir Michael, for example, of Arthur's O'on notoriety, whose eldest son would be a soldier. As he left the parental roof—"Andrew," said the father, "if I thought you'd turn your back upon man, I'd shoot you where you stand." Then followed the mother's gentle yet not less valour-inspiring counsel—"Never take an affront, Andrew, nor ever give one." How like the heroic precept which the Spartan mothers were wont to give their sons as they set out for the battlefield—"Either bring home your shield, my boy, or be brought home upon it."

As to the origin of the Falkirk Trysts, still held here, little definitely is known. Their establishment, however, was beyond doubt subsequent to the Union. Duncan Shaw, of Crathinard, who is said to have originated the markets, acted at one time as a cattle-drover. He appeared at Falkirk in 1710 with a specially large drove, a number of which he was commissioned by neighbours and others to sell. An Englishman, apparently wealthy, offered to purchase the whole. The bargain was struck, and the animals driven away; but the purchaser also disappeared

without paying. Shaw on his return sold Crathinard to Farquharson of Invercauld, and paid his neighbours what was due them, as well as his other creditors by whom he had been entrusted with part of the cattle. He then took a lease of Cranthard, in Glenisla, from the Earl of Airlie, and transported his numerous family thither, some on horseback, and the children in baskets slung on ponies—the usual mode of conveyance in those days. Six years afterwards he again met his customer at a market in Forfar. The delinquent professed great penitence, paid his old debt, and purchased Shaw's present stock, for which he gave ready money then and there. Shaw treated his retainers so liberally on this occasion that it became a common saying, when there was a good market, that there had not been one like it since the time when Duncan Shaw's men drunk their bickerfuls of whisky.

The first of these once great cattle markets took place on the Redding Ridge, and occurred annually. They were, however, only two in number, instead of three as latterly—held in the months of August, September, and October. Eventually came their removal further west to the lands of Roughcastle, in the neighbourhood of Greenhill; and where, along the summit of the moor, tents were erected for the convenience and comfort of the dealers. It was not until the year 1785 that the trysts were held on the large com-

mon of 75 acres at Stenhousemuir, a site than which none could be more suitable and central. The wild and open character of the Bonnymuir locality no doubt influenced the Highlanders to seek more sheltered quarters from their friend the Sassenach. Yet even the present stance, eighty years ago, was rugged and moorish enough, being little better than a perfect cover of broom, and which was so strong in the growth that the herd boys from the adjacent farms had to mount their phail-huts to see, from the movement of the bushy branches, the whereabouts of their scattered cattle.

At the outset, the show of animals was limited, both as regards sorts and numbers. During 1825 and 1840, there was not a white beast to be seen at these trysts. But, eventually, Irish-bred cattle appeared, and afterwards the shorthorns; when the business of dealing in north country stock came to be worthless. Mr. M'Combie of Tillyfour, whose name will always be associated with the breeding of polled cattle, had, as a rule, the best beasts on the ground. At one of the Michaelmas markets, he sold 1,500 head; and the highest figure here for feeding animals, sixty years ago, was £13. The Williamsons of St. John's Wells, Bethelnie, and Easter Crichie; and the Armstrongs from Yorkshire, bought largely of good cattle at the trysts; while another English dealer, Robert M'Turk, whose credit was unlimi-

ted, has been known to purchase seventy score of highlanders without dismounting from his pony. The Carmichaels were also an extensive firm of English buyers; but when cattle were selling dear, dealers from England, Wales, Ireland, and all parts of Scotland congregated at Larbert.

The locomotive, however, has swept away much that was interesting in connection with the trysts. There is no longer the stir either of dealers or "droves" that once characterised the Stenhousemuir neighbourhood on their approach. The pasture fields for miles around were wont to be literally packed with sheep and cattle; and the incessant bleatings and rowtings that were heard morning, noon, and night, from every point of the parish, together with the barking-din of the dogs, and the impassioned shoutings and whistlings of the Gaels, broke, in liveliest fashion, the quiet monotony of village life. Sellers, in fact, were usually forward by the Friday of the preceding week, and it was no uncommon thing to see them in the market the following Thursday; whereas, in these snorting steam days, they may be said to arrive at Larbert in the morning, and to depart the same afternoon for their mountains and their homes.

A description of the tryst-ground on the Tuesday, say, of the October fair, would, no doubt, form a page of attractive reading; but a spectacle so bewildering in brute bustle could only be

graphically depicted by a master-pen. During the heat of business, we have seen some fifty acres fully occupied with the various concomitants of the market; and sellers know well that both cattle and sheep are the better of a good rouse up when the buyer is inspecting them. But none of the many breeds which are here brought into keen competition look half so noble as the brave west-highlander.

> "The watchful eyes are fierce, yet soft,
> As falcon's o'er her harried nest;
> His curving horns and shaggy crest
> Are swept aloft.
>
> Beyond the snow of Ben-y-Gloe,
> He sees upon the mountain's face
> The birth-place of his hardy race,
> His own Glencoe."

The refreshment tents are invariably planted on the east side of the muir; three or four of which have banking-boxes attached where payments, by the principal buyers, are generally made. And here, there is also the horse market numerously stocked with all sorts of the animal from the finest Clydesdale to the shaggiest Shetland pet. The strip of ground that lies within the double line of tents forms an excellent run for the "coupers" in galloping out their spirited roadsters under the rousing din of hat and whip-shaft. The weekly auction sales, now common in almost every country

town, have greatly affected the numbers of both cattle and sheep that were wont to be shown at these once large and widely-known markets; but horses, on the other hand, are, year after year, as numerous and varied in class and character as the tryst-ground even in its palmiest days exhibited. Twelve years ago, a series of monthly markets for the sale of feeding stock were opened, and have proved a decided success.

In this same neighbourhood we have two very handsome and imposing buildings—the Scottish National Institution for the Training of Imbecile Children, and the Lunatic Asylum for the counties of Stirling, Dumbarton, Linlithgow, and Clackmannan. The situation of the establishments is all that could be desired; while the locality is alike healthy and picturesque. About fourteen years ago, a few gentlemen, stimulated by the labours of Dr. Guggenbuhl amongst the cretins of Switzerland, commenced a small institution in Edinburgh for the education of imbeciles, which was afterwards transferred to the district of Larbert. And here we have certainly one of our most excellent charities. It is computed that, in Scotland alone, there are at least 3000 idiots, a large portion of whom are the children of poor parents who are unable to do anything either for them or with them. In this institution, of which Mr. W. W. Ireland is medical superintendent, there are now 71 male and 41 female pupils, from

six years old and upwards. The buildings, however, are capable of accommodating from 200 to 250 inmates. A pretty flower-bordered walk leads up to the chief entrance; but a considerable space is allotted to play-grounds, bright with gowans and buttercups, and bearing plenty of grass for the little "feeble folk" to tumble in.

In connection with the Lunatic Asylum there are a farm of 75 acres, and pleasure grounds extending to 20. The building, which stands well to the south of the property, lies almost parallel to the Institution for Imbeciles that overlooks the western bank of the Caledonian Railway at Muirhall. It is situated, as we have said, in a quiet and thoroughly rural district, at a distance from any large centre of population, yet not so entirely removed from the healthy activity of industrial life as to render the place depressing from felt isolation. But an expenditure of £40,000 should have something striking to show for itself. And the lineaments of the building lean to the massive side. With a frontage, or façade, of 340 feet, and a wing on east and west 170 feet in depth, its appearance, as you approach it from the tryst-ground, is imposing. Internally, the house is perfect—compact, comfortable, and commodious. The dining-hall, which is formed on the ground floor in front of the centre block, measures 53 feet by 28; and adjoining it on either side are the day-rooms, lavatories, laundry, &c. The chapel stands

immediately over the dining-hall, and is of similar dimensions. At present, the asylum, which is under the medical superintendence of Mr. James Maclaren, contains 153 males, and 163 females. Since its opening, about ten years ago, there have been admitted for the first time 1,066 patients, and re-admitted 186, making a total of 1,252. Stirling county, with a population of 98,218, sent 598; Dumbarton, with 58,659, sent 310; Linlithgow, with 40,695, sent 176; and Clackmannan, with 23,747, sent 139.

Medical knowledge has certainly greatly advanced of late years with regard to the treatment of the insane. How appalled we stand at the ignorance which was displayed by the old mad doctors in their management of the class, whether suffering from simple monomania or from general derangement of the intellect. Chained in filthy cells, and couched on straw, even the least refractory were treated more like vicious brutes than human beings. But while it does our humanity credit that barbarous devices for the torture of the mentally afflicted are things of the past, the feeling is common that our present system of asylum management is conducted on too grand and indulgent a scale; and the question is bound to force itself sooner or later on the country as to whether our pauper lunatics might not be cared for kindly and comfortably at far less cost.

CHAPTER XX.

STIRLING.

FEW royal burghs have had a more remarkable history than Stirling. A frontier town for some five hundred years prior to the tenth century, it was originally built of wood. Thrice it fell a prey to incendiarism—first in March, 1244; again, in 1298; and, later still, in 1385. Then followed its years of abject poverty, while its paupers became an intolerable annoyance to the surrounding districts. Hospitals for the relief of decayed tradesmen or burgesses were built, until the town was veritably a colony of asylums. Spittal's, although not the most important, is the oldest of the number. A house in the Back Row has the following inscription, with the scissors *en saltier*:—"This hovs is fovndit for svpport of the pvir be Robert Spittal, taillyovr to King Jæmes the 4, in anno, 1530.—R. S." Cowan's, which is the most richly endowed, stands in the highest part of the town. It was founded, in 1639, by John Cowan, a substantial merchant here, for the support of twelve decayed guild-

brethren. A third hospital is Allan's, originating from the bounty of John Allan, writer; who, at his death, in 1725, bequeathed it for the maintenance and education of the children of poor townsmen. In 1809, Alexander Cunninghame, merchant, also left to the town council £4,000, of which the interest was to be applied to the clothing and schooling of boys, sons of the guild-brethren and of mechanics, equally. Connected, too, with these hospitals are the salmon fishings of the Forth, extending over many miles of that serpentine river, both up and down stream; and the additional revenue thus derived, though variable, is always considerable.

The castle, no doubt, gave rise to the town, by encouraging the neighbouring populace to settle under its protection. And, when that fortress had become a royal residence, many of the nobility and State officers built here, for conveniently attending the court.

Stirling, which first appears as a royal burgh under Alexander I., was one of the towns that constituted the "*Curia Quatuor Burgorum*," or Court of Four Burghs. This court was a commercial parliament, invested with full powers to determine in any question, whether judicial or legislative, relating to the Scottish burghs. At a meeting of the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* in Stirling, 12th October, 1405, various laws were enacted concerning the internal order of burghs,

and the qualifications of burgesses. In those days, the appeal from the sentence of the burgh-courts was to the chamberlain, at Haddington; who was empowered to summon an assize of three or four respectable burgesses, one from each of the following towns: Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, Stirling; or, when Berwick and Roxburgh were in the hands of the English, from Linlithgow and Lanark. The verdict was final. Circuits, or "*chamberlain-ayres*," as they were called, were held in the different burghs of Scotland by the chamberlain, whose decrees were reviewed by the *Curia*. In 1454, the convention was removed to Edinburgh, and Haddington struck off the list. Under James III., this court was changed into what was called "the Convention of Royal Burghs," to be held yearly at Inverkeithing. From the Record, however, it appears to have been 1552 before it met. Meanwhile, the sentences of the burgh magistrates came to be reviewed by the ordinary courts of law, instead of the chamberlain of the *Curia*. By a statute in 1535, magistrates were to produce their accounts yearly at the exchequer, after a public notice of fifteen days. By a statute of James VI., the convention was to meet four times every year, in any burgh it pleased, with one commissioner only from each, except Edinburgh, which was to have two. By a subsequent statute of the same monarch, a majority of the

burghs, or the city of Edinburgh with any other six, could call a convention as oft as they saw meet, and all the others were to attend, under penalty. The Convention of Royal Burghs now meets in Edinburgh. The Lord Provost of the Scottish metropolis, though not a member, is perpetual preses.

For about a century before 1773, the town council of Stirling, consisting of twenty-one members, elected, in a great measure, their successors. Fourteen were of the guildry or merchants, and seven of the incorporated trades. The provost, four bailies, treasurer, and dean of guild, were annually, or, it might be, for two successive years, but no longer, chosen out of the merchant-councillors; seven merchants by the common council, in place of seven merchant-councillors who had vacated their seats; and each of the seven incorporated trades made up a list or *leet* of four of their members, to be sent to the council, two from each of which were cut off by the council, and two returned to their respective incorporations, that they might elect one to be council-deacon for the ensuing year. A magistrate might, and by practice often did, remain in council as one of the seven ordinary merchant-councillors, or be made dean of guild, who was preses of the council, and could again be elected provost or bailie. This succession and interchange of official dignity might last

for a life-time, without any practical responsibility.

In the above-mentioned year, three leading members of the town council had entered into a combination, unknown, as appeared in evidence, to the majority, to preserve themselves and friends perpetually in office. This abuse of power was, by certain injured persons, brought before the Court of Session, then consisting of one chamber; and the election of magistrates and councillors of the burgh made at Michaelmas 1773, was, by a casting vote, declared "null and void." The case was appealed to the House of Peers, and the decree affirmed. The effect was to annihilate the burgh.

Matters had remained in this position for nearly eight years, when, on the 23rd May, 1781, his Majesty in council was pleased to grant the petition of the burgesses and inhabitants, setting forth the facts stated, and humbly praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to restore the said burgh, and to direct a magistracy and town council to be chosen by a poll election, and that some part of the former *set* or constitution of the burgh might be altered, in order to prevent in future the abuses which had occasioned the present disfranchisement. The alterations are said to have been suggested by the then lord-advocate of Scotland, whom, as the order in council bears, his Majesty had consulted, Henry

Dundas, Esq., afterwards Lord Viscount Melville. By the new constitution, the merchants were to elect the fourteen merchant-councillors; the seven incorporated trades their respective deacon, who was thereby to become a constituent member of the town council; the merchants at large were to choose one of the fourteen merchant-councillors to be dean of guild; the seven new deacons, with a delegate chosen by each incorporated trade, to elect one of themselves to be deacon-convener; the said fourteen to compose the convener court till the next election; and the fourteen merchant-councillors, with the seven deacons of the trades, to choose the provost, four bailies, and a treasurer, out of the fourteen merchant-councillors, exclusive of the dean of guild, the provost to be chief magistrate and preses of the council, in place of the dean of guild, who was preses of the former *set*.

It may be proper to state that the burgess-oath of Stirling, which had not been affected by the great municipal revolution above commemorated, is couched in such general and liberal terms as to admit those who in relation to the oaths of other burghs are termed antiburghers. To illustrate this point, we may quote an instance of the stricter burgess-oath. "I protest before God and your lordships, that I profess and allow with my heart, the true religion presently professed within the realm, and authorised by the

laws thereof. I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." At Stirling, on the other hand, a milder oath is administered. "I swear to be a faithful burgess to the burgh of Stirling, to obey the magistrates thereof, and town officers having their lawful commands, in matters purely civil, so far as agreeable to the Word of God." The restriction of obedience to matters "purely civil," is asserted to have been introduced at the particular desire of the *anti-burgher-burgesses*. It may thus be said, that, in relation to their own burgh, there are no anti-burghers here.

In keeping of the town-clerk, there are one or two ancient and interesting curiosities. The silver key, for example, about seven inches long, which belonged to the gate of the old bridge; another of the same, connected with the burgh port; and the famous "pint-jug" that was fixed by law as the standard in Scotland for dry measure. The material of the latter is a sort of *yetlin*, and of very rude manufacture. Outside, and opposite the handle, are two shields in relief; one of which, near the mouth, has the lion of the Scottish arms; the other, a rudely designed quadruped, in a horizontal position, intended, probably, for the wolf as being the crest of the burgh arms. This jug is mentioned in Acts of Parliament, as being here before the reign of

James II. By Act 19th February, 1618, entitled, "Act anent settling the weights and measures of Scotland," "it is statuted and ordained, that the wheat firlot shall contain twenty-one pints and a mutchkin of the Stirling jug;" and that "the firlot for bear, malt, and oats, shall contain thirty-one pints of the same." The contents of the firlot were 2,688¼ solid inches. To Edinburgh was assigned, by parliament, the keeping of the standard ell; to Perth, the reel; and to Lanark, the pound. The Stirling jug, however, was lost for many years, until discovered by the late Rev. Alexander Bryce, of Kirknewton.

A good story, by the way, is told of a Mr. Finlayson, who was town-clerk in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and noted for the marvellous in conversation. He had been on a visit to the last Earl of Menteith and Airth, in the castle of Talla; and, on taking leave, was asked by the earl whether he had seen the sailing cherry tree. "No," said Finlayson, "what sort of a thing is it?" "It is," replied the earl, "a tree that has grown out at a goose's mouth from a stone the bird had swallowed, and which she bears with her in her voyages round the loch. It is now in full fruit of the most exquisite flavour. But Finlayson," he added, "can you, with all your powers of memory and fancy, match my story of the cherry tree?" "Perhaps I can," said Finlayson, clearing his throat, and adding:

"When Oliver Cromwell was at Airth, one of his cannon sent a ball to Stirling, which lodged in the mouth of a trumpet that one of the troops in the castle was in the act of sounding." "Was the trumpeter killed?" asked the earl. "No, my lord," replied Finlayson; "he blew the ball back, and killed the artilleryman who had fired it."

In 1645 a pestilence had come from England, by Kelso, to Edinburgh. The parliament removed to Stirling, but being overtaken by that dreadful enemy, were obliged to adjourn to Perth. It raged in Stirling from the middle of July till October. The town council then held their meetings in the open fields, in an inclosure called the Cow-park, on the south side of the town wall. Great care, however, was taken of the infected. Tents were erected for them at the north end of the bridge, on Sherriff-muir, and every method used that could administer relief or comfort. *Cleansers*, as they were called, were appointed for the different quarters of the town; a small tax was laid upon the inhabitants for paying them; and a spot of ground, near St. Ninian's well, allotted for burying the dead. Many of their bones have, from time to time, been dug up there. Six members of the council, whose humanity had rendered them particularly active upon that mournful occasion, died of the infection. Their gravestones are still to be seen in the old churchyard north of the building.

In James VI.'s time the town was considerably enlarged towards the east. Formerly the east wall passed a little below the meal-market, and the south port stood a hundred yards more to the west. The last built port was erected about 1591. When taken down seventy years ago, to render the entry to the town more commodious, a silver piece of the size of a crown was discovered in the foundation. Three *cinque foils* occupy the shield, on which are emblazoned the helmet, surmounted by the crown of royalty. The legend around is "MARGARETA. D: G PRIN. COM. AB. ARBURGH." On the obverse is the Holy Child, in the centre, holding a globe, with a cross on the top. Around the Child is a Glory, and around the latter "PROTECTOR MEVS ES TV. 1576."

The two principal entries to the town are the burgh port upon the south, and the bridge upon the north. No certain information can be obtained of the first erection of the bridge. It had four arches, with a gate at the east end. In 1745 the southernmost arch was broken down by order of General Blackney, to prevent the Highlanders from passing. Before its existence the passage was by a bridge half a mile more to the westward at Kildean. The foundations are still to be seen. It appears to have been the bridge mentioned in *Regiam Majestatem*, as the place where the inhabitants south of the Forth, challenged as having in their possession stolen goods

belonging to the people on the north, were appointed to produce their warrants within six weeks.

Stirling has, in these days, utterly got quit of its ragged notoriety. It is, in fact, rapidly taking rank as one of the fashionable places of resort; and many of the villas on the outskirts of the burgh are little short of princely in their elegance of architecture. Within the town, too, are several very handsome buildings—Drummond's Tract Depot, at the corner of King Street; the North Established Church, a fine Norman building; the Allan U. P. Church, a stately structure in the Gothic style; and the County Buildings, recently erected, which furnish accommodation in the most ample form for the Justiciary Court and all other judiciary assemblies. Nor should we omit to notice the regard for the fine arts, which has found its expression in Smith's Institute, with its museum and library; the latter not connected in any way with the public library, properly so called, which has proved so great a boon to the community.

The old town still retains a great deal of its ancient characteristics and peculiarities. In Baker Street especially there are some quaint old houses, on one of which is inscribed—

> "Here I forbear
> My name or arms to fix,
> Lest me and mine
> Should sell these stones and sticks."

Here, in addition to the ruins of Mar's palace and the castle hospital, also stands the High Church—a splendid specimen of Gothic masonry —within which James VI. was crowned, when John Knox preached the coronation sermon. In 1656 the building, originally single, was divided into two, and to this day consists of the east and west churches—the latter having been the place of worship allied with the Franciscan monastery, founded by James IV., the hero of Flodden, in 1494; and not further gone than 1868 the old timber roof was discovered somewhat unexpectedly. Mr. M'Lean, acting for Mr. Rochead, architect for the new transept to be erected at the joint entrance, having had the gallery of the west church taken down, made an examination of the unoccupied space above the modern plaster ceiling, when what should appear but the beautiful arched roof of oak, in excellent preservation. A window at the western end, decorated with stained glass, contains in the centre the arms of the burgh. After being disused as a place of worship for three-quarters of a century, the church underwent complete repair in 1816. Various cenotaphs now surround its interior. The tower, which rises at the west end of the building, is 90 feet in height, and may be ascended by a convenient stair. The east church presents, in the interior, double rows of handsome columns, with a chancel at the eastern end

containing a large and beautiful window, which, having been added by James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, gives this portion of the structure the name of Beaton's aisle. In the course of alterations and improvements which were lately carried out, a quantity of human bones, in addition to those found on the outer stair, were thrown up from the floor of the interior. An aperture was also discovered built in the wall near the entrance on the north side, which is supposed to have been a tomb; and a few yards from this, about five feet from the floor, a small basin cut in the stone was likewise observed, that had probably been used for holding water in the services, near the altar.

Immediately beneath the castle esplanade to the south, lies the town cemetery. To catch at a glance the many adornments of the ground, an ascent should be made to the "Ladies' Rock," which, with picturesque grace, rises from the sepultural valley. The scene, while full of impressive loveliness, is also very deceptive. From the natural beauty of the situation, and the exquisite skill with which statuary, shrubbery, and rockeries are arranged throughout the burial garden, it is hard to be convinced that what is seen is for the most part artificial. On the north side of the cemetery stands a pyramidal emblem in stone of the permanence of Scripture. The building, which was erected by one of Stirling's

most generous sons—Mr. William Drummond—is not less curious-looking than imposing; and, in addition to a formidable array of hieroglyphic signs, displays a variety of biblical quotations. Down in the valley are many interesting, though less striking objects; a pretty pond, a tasteful water-fountain, and several fine statues of Scotch martyrs.

Then there is the "Wolf Crag" in Port Street, of which we have the following legend. During the reign of Donald V., near the close of the ninth century, two Northumbrian princes, named Osbrecht and Ella, had acquired by conquest all south of the Forth from Stirling, and toward the eastern coast. The town was under the rule of these Anglo-Saxons for some twenty-eight years. About the same period the Danes, under their magical flag, the "Black Raven," had visited Britain for pillage. Pursuing their depredations to the north, each town inhabited by Anglo-Saxons was as well guarded and watched as could be for the approach of these invaders. At the "South Port," a sentinel had been set; but, overcome with fatigue, he fell asleep on duty, and was awakened by the growl of a wolf which had left the woody wilds for a rock in the immediate neighbourhood. Getting roused in time to see some of the northern hordes on the advance, he at once alarmed the garrison, who speedily caused a retreat. The incident of the cries of the wolf

having been regarded as a favourable omen, the rock received the name of "Wolf Crag." Mottoes had previously been introduced into England by the Saxons, and the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxons who ruled in Stirling adopted the design of the wolf recumbent on a rock as the armorial bearing of the town. In an ancient seal belonging to the burgh, it is understood that there are seen seven stars set in the sky, and the rock on which reclines the wolf is strewn with branches of trees, apparently indicative of the Druidical or Pagan idea of the deities specially superintending the affairs of this part of "Sylvæ Caledonia."

Stirling, within the last forty years, has made vast progress in proportion to her capabilities. In that time she has about doubled her population, and more than tripled her manufactures and her commerce. By a return made in 1755, there were only 3,951 inhabitants in the town and parish; in 1792, they had increased to 4,698; in 1801, to 5,256; in 1811, to 6,523; in 1821, to 7,333; in 1831, to 8,499; in 1841, to 8,914; and in 1871, to 14,279. Throughout the fifteenth century, the manufacture of worsted cloth, shallon, stockings, thread, and serge, formed the chief branches of trade prosecuted by the populace. These articles were sent over to Holland, Bruges being the staple port for all such commodities. In the sixteenth century, it was impossible to meet with a Stirling merchant who had not been

in Holland, as no one was received as an apprentice to any of the industries mentioned unless he agreed to go twice there as supercargo of the goods. About 1700, we find different bonds given to the traders by strolling craftsmen, not to sell their wares to the inhabitants except upon market days; while, even in 1762, no person could open shop in town without first satisfying the guildry, by a statement of his affairs, that he was possessed of the necessary funds. At present the leading manufactures here are carpets, tartans, winceys, tweeds, and shawls. There are also an extensive wool-spinning factory; two coach-building establishments; and two agricultural implement works. The banking offices are eight in number—the oldest being the Bank of Scotland's branch, which was established as far back as 1776.

No part of Scotland surpasses the district of country, of which Stirling is the centre, in farming. There are no more skilful and enthusiastic agriculturists anywhere. The carse is one of the best fields for their operations; and the landlords, including the hospital patrons, are generally liberal. Added to this is the advantage of a ready market for every kind of farm produce. The soils of the country are locally classified into carse, dryfield, moor, and moss. The carse lands extend about twenty-eight miles along the firth from Bucklyvie to the borders of Linlithgow, and

vary in breadth from one to four miles, making altogether about 36,000 imperial acres. This fine soil increases in depth and richness as it stretches towards the east, and in some parts of the Dunmore, Airth, and Zetland estates it will be found 20 feet in depth, and rented at £5 the imperial acre.

The progress of the town is also marked by many improvements which have been carried into effect within comparatively recent years; such as securing an abundant supply of fine water from a source in the Touch Hills, 490 feet above the level of the Forth; also covered sewage, and a regular police.

We have elsewhere alluded to Mr. J. C. Bolton, of Carbrook, who represents the county in Parliament. His predecessor was Sir William Edmonstone, Bart., of Duntreath (Conservative), who succeeded Admiral Erskine, of Cardross (Liberal). Stirling also unites with the burghs of Dunfermline, Culross, Inverkeithing, and South Queensferry, in returning a representative to parliament. The present member is Mr. Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was preceded by Mr. Lawrence Oliphant—a gentleman who had made some mark in the world both as *litérateur* and politician.

Opposite Stirling, upon the north bank of the river, stands the Abbey Craig, now the appropriate pedestal of the Wallace Monument. Most fitting, we say, because the Craig, which is 360

feet above the level of the Forth, was the hill on which the Scottish army were found posted by the English foot and horse immediately prior to the famous battle in which Edward and his host were strikingly defeated. The monument, which rises on the highest point of the rock's front, represents a Scottish baronial tower of an early period. It is 220 feet in height, and at the base 36 feet square. The walls, 18 feet thick at the foundations, graduate to a thickness of 5 feet at the top of the structure. To the tower on the east side is attached the warder's lodge, a massive building of two storeys. On the ground-floor, there is an elegant waiting-room, and three halls above—each 24 feet square, and 30 feet high. The bartisan parapet at the top of the staircase is 5 feet wide, and is protected by a wall 6 feet high and 18 inches thick. An imperial crown 50 feet in height, and built of cube-stone, forms the apex. The foundation-stone was laid on the 24th June, 1861, by the late Duke of Athole, as Grand-Master Mason, when about 80,000 persons assembled on the occasion. On 11th September, 1869, the monument was formally handed over to the Town Council of Stirling as its permanent custodiers. The entire cost of the structure—the tribute of a nation to its greatest hero—was £14,000; and the amount proved extremely difficult to raise. But so long a period has elapsed since Wallace lived and

fought, and so much of his character belongs to the legendary age, that the idea of erecting a monument to his memory could only take effective root in the minds of those specially endowed with the sentiment of Scottish patriotism. It happens, moreover, that the men who make money are not, as a general rule, men who are apt to be moved by mere sentiment, and this may be the reason why the placing of the Wallace Monument on the Abbey Craig proved, both literally and figuratively, such uphill work. A really pathetic document, written shortly after the above-mentioned victory by Wallace, was picked up in 1868 by a German antiquary, in Lubeck, and which "scrap of crumpled parchment," issued with the name of our national hero as one of the guardians of Scotland, explained how the corporations of his country had failed in the old reciprocity of trading intercourse with their continental friends, by reason of the despotic dominion of a foreign enemy; but now, by the aid of Heaven, a great victory had released them from their oppressors, and the good old fellowship with foreign traders might be expected, and be prosecuted with mutual advantage without interruption.

In 1784, eleven brazen spears were found on the Abbey Craig, by a Mr. Harley. These had, no doubt, got buried in the ruins of the castle which, at one time, stood on the summit of the

hill. A small stone was also got here at a later date, having on one side a representation of the Scotch thistle, and on the obverse a variety of Saxon characters.

Bridge-of-Allan, that most romantic and fashionable of Scotch spas, lies to the west of the Craig. Until the discovery of its mineral waters, the place was only known as a quiet country hamlet; but, now, being a famed resort for the restoration of health on account of these saline springs, and the mildness of its climate, it has become of late years a large and very handsome village. The population of "the Bridge" in 1861, was 1,803. In 1871, when it was made a burgh under the provisions of the Lindsay Act, the inhabitants numbered 3,065.

CHAPTER XXI.

ST. NINIANS AND DENNY.

THE original name of St. Ninians parish was Egglis, Egglais, or Eccles, signifying "the church," and, on till 1724, the village itself was called Kirktown. The Romanized Britons of Valentia, who, by Bede, and the contemporary writers of the middle ages are called the southern Picts, were converted, about the beginning of the fifth century, by Ninian or Ringan. He was born about 360, of noble parentage, in the county of the Novantes, near the Leuchophibia of Ptolemy, and the Whithern of modern times. He was ordained at Rome; instructed in monastic discipline by Martin of Tours; and, returning before the year 397, founded a monastery at Whithern, and built a church, which, as being the first church of stone in Scotland, and shining from afar, was called *Candida Casa*. It afterwards became the seat of the bishops of Galloway. Ninian had probably the province of Valentia for his diocese; but the country north of it does not seem to have been converted till a considerable time afterwards.

Ninian died on the 10th September, 432, and the day was long celebrated as the festival of a saint to whom Scotland owed her earliest knowledge of the gospel. St. Ringan's fame has been embalmed in the many churches dedicated to him: Kilninian in Mull; Kil St. Ninian in the parish of Colmonel; St. Ringan's church near Stirling, in the vicinity of which there is a copious spring of water bearing his name; St. Ninian's in the parish of Alyth; St. Ninian's chapel, now a cemetery, in Banffshire; St. Ninian's in Inverness-shire; Nonekill, or St. Ninian's chapel in the parish of Kultearn; the chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Ross; the chaplainry of St. Ninian attached to the cathedral church of Moray; St. Ninian's chapel in Castle Hill of Aberdeen; St. Ninian's chapel at the west port of Linlithgow; St. Ninian's chapel and burying ground in the parish of St. Vigian's, where we find St. Ninian's well, once reputed as a cure for many diseases; St. Ninian's chapel standing on Runa-Ringan, "Ninian Point," in Bute; St. Ninian's chapel in Ringan's or Ronyan's isle, one of the Shetlands. Tradition says, that St. Ninian occasionally inhabited a cave on the sea-shore, near the house of Phisgil, in Wigtownshire. Ringan is the Irish name for Ninian, and is applied in that form to the St. Ninians church, parish, and village in Stirlingshire. A bone of the saint was one of the many relics carried off from Glasgow to France at

the Reformation, by Archbishop Beaton, nephew of the celebrated cardinal of that name, when, after fortifying his palace, he found it necessary to fly. The chartulary of Glasgow, which he also took with him, has been recovered, but St. Ninian's bone, and the rest of the relics are, it is believed, irrecoverably lost.

The first volume of the session records now in existence commences November, 1653; but there is part of a minute dated 1608, and two extracts from a former volume, 1631 and 1639, are entered anew under 1699, in which John Drummond of Carnock and Skeoch grants right to certain seats to John Rollo of Bannockburn. James Edmonstone was minister. The record 1653 commences with "This day the session being frequentlie, *i. e.* fully convened," but often immediately after the date, it is "compeared" such and such persons. No sederunt is marked till 1660, nor any mention made of prayers, either at the opening or close, till after the revolution. But though modern forms were not observed, much business was transacted. From 1653 to 1750, with few exceptions, there were from twenty-four to thirty meetings of session in the year. The minister and elders exercised most extensive powers, both in passing acts, and in punishing delinquents. Besides licentious persons, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, and slanderers, they took cognizance of those guilty of theft, prevarication or perjury, of scolding and

railing. Severe enactments are made against those that "haunt public-houses, that do not keep the kirk, and examinations;" but idle persons, such as vagrants, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, and also "those that resett them," are objects of their highest displeasure. Nor was it merely by admonition and censure that they sought to repress these evils. In 1665, we find the following entry, "because this kirk is troubled with sturdy beggars every Sabbath, appoint James Wilson, constable, to wait at the style next Sabbath to put them away, and, if refractorie, to put them in the stocks or steeple." Delinquents in general were subjected to fines; and, to keep good order at marriages, it was enacted, that, should anything of a contrary nature take place, the money previously lodged with the session clerk should immediately be forfeited to the poor. At times they threaten to give them over to the civil magistrate, but not unfrequently they appear to have set them in the "jugs," or banished them the parish by their own authority.

If the session were zealous in repressing evil, they were at the same time active in promoting good. Much wisdom and tenderness was displayed in reconciling families and neighbours. The education of the young was also an object of special care, and they seem to have exercised an unlimited authority both over the teacher and his scholars. They appoint the parochial school-

master and allot his salary; they instruct him what he is to teach, and fix his hours of teaching; and when dissatisfied call him before them, admonish, reprove, or dismiss him at their pleasure. They enact that no private teacher shall open a school without their permission, and that none shall be opened within two miles of the parochial school.

The topics enumerated, together with the management of the poor, in a populous and extensive parish, might be supposed to afford sufficient employment for any kirk session. But in addition to all these, the kirk session of St. Ninians took the chief management of the fabric of the church and the arrangement of its seats. They build an aisle from their own funds, which is kept entirely under their own control, and part of their fines are laid out in repairing the churchyard dikes. Heritors make application to them for seats, which they erect, exchange, or alter very much at their pleasure. By their order sums of money were collected for propagating the gospel; for building churches, particularly in Ireland; for people who had lost their property, or who were to undergo dangerous operations; and once for a man who had been taken captive by the Turks. Nay, once and again, we find them actively employed in building or repairing bridges. They assist in repairing the bridges over the Carron, and at

Chartreshall; and, in 1670, they not only urge the heritors, but the elders collect largely themselves to erect a stone bridge, instead of the wooden one, over the Bannock in the upper carses.

Mr. George Bennet, who was also proprietor of East Livilands, was minister from 1655 to 1674. In his time the parochial machinery was in full operation; nor does the accession of Charles II., or the introduction of episcopacy, appear greatly to have paralysed it. In the early part of his ministry grievous complaints are made against Cromwell's English soldiers, and numbers are summoned before the session, for harbouring or keeping company with them. At a later period, some parishioners are "convened for beating Argyll's men on the Sabbath day." In 1687 "Mr. Wright of Alloa preached and institute Mr. Forsyth, formerly minister of Clackmannan, to the exercise of the ministry in the parish of St. Ninians in the face of the congregation." Complaints are made of persons not coming to the communion, nor keeping their own kirk; both men and women are summoned before the session for attending conventicles, and having their children irregularly baptized. A sequestered spot is pointed out where it is said the covenanters assembled, and the station where the watchmen stood to give notice when the soldiers left the castle of Stirling coming to attack them.

Nail-making, the tanning of leather, and the manufacture of screw bolts, are the staple trades of the place. The population of the parish in 1645, was 4,760; in 1745, 5,916; in 1755, 6,491; in 1801, 6,849; in 1811, 7,636; in 1831, 9,552; and in 1871, 10,146. St. Ninians has thus done little more than doubled its inhabitants during the last 230 years. Still the coal mines here are very valuable, and have been extensively wrought. They lie on the south-east side of the parish, in ground considerably lower than that in which the trap-rocks abound, so that the collieries of Greenyards, Bannockburn, Plean, and Auchenbowie, may be regarded as forming one large coal-field. On the lands of Bannockburn, the upper and less valuable seam has been wrought for a considerable period. Its quality is greatly inferior to that of the main coal, and its average thickness runs about 19 inches. The strata of rock of most frequent occurrence in the district of these mines are sandstone and shale, while bars of ironstone are also found in some of the latter beds. Bannockburn is a village composed principally of plain and unpretending houses. Here, the manufacture of tweeds, carpets, and tartans, has for many years been carried on extensively, and there is likewise a tannery of some note and importance. The population in 1871, was 2,564.

The "Toad-and-the-Lamb" is a hamlet tiny and commonplace. In its neighbourhood, how-

ever, stands the Plean Asylum which was founded by the late Colonel Francis Simpson of East Plean. This gentleman, who died in March, 1831, left in lands and money about £3000 of annual income, for the benefit of indigent old men, soldiers and sailors to have the preference. At present there are thirty pensioners in the institution, who are comfortably lodged, fed, and clothed, and supplied individually with a small sum of pocket money. The building, now hid in foliage, is by no means attractive architecturally, but, within the quiet camp and haven, there is nothing awanting for the winter-life enjoyment of the veteran inmates.

We have had occasion to speak of the many ancient associations of Torwood in other chapters. Here, at the foot of the old Toll Brae, Donald Cargill, the ejected minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow, and one of the last champions of Scotland's spiritual independence, excommunicated in October, 1680, the reigning monarch, Charles II., a manly renunciation of crowned tyranny, and war to the knife declared against the Stuart race. The congregation was immense, and after lecturing on Ezekiel xxi. 25, &c., and preaching from 1 Cor. v. 13, the heroic Cargill, in the afternoon, took for his text Lam. iii. 31. Next Sabbath he declared that if the men he had previously excommunicated died the common death of mortals, or if they did not go bound to eternity as he had bound them, then his deed should not have the

sanction of Heaven. After many a hair-breadth escape, he ultimately perished on the scaffold. Again and again he attempted to address the multitude that had assembled to witness his dying testimony. But as often the drums were beat to drown his voice. Placing his foot upon the ladder, he uttered these memorable words :—"The Lord knows I go on this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind than ever I entered the pulpit to preach."

Midway between this and Larbert lies the Glenbervie estate, and down the tree-shaded valley shines the mansion from out its sylvan surroundings. Striking traces also appear of the old ancestral avenue, whose magnificent array of conical limes will keep it long in marked remembrance. On either side of the public highway, and almost adjoining the southern extremity of that beautiful arcade, stood two trees of peculiar interest to the Scotch and English people. As the local legend goes, the two countries, on these trees meeting branch with branch, would, as enemies, again take to the battle-field, though for what reasonable object it would be hard to determine. Fortunately, however, for the peace and prosperity of Britain, the tree on the south side of the road had one of its largest arms struck off by lightning some years ago, and now simply shows the smallest fragment of a shelly trunk. But we have seen the two, in this same leafy

season, playfully nod and whisper to each other at the safe and respectful distance of three yards or so, quite unconscious, apparently, of their momentous mission.

Denny, as a town, stands comparatively unimportant, both in the past and present. It is conjectured that the name is a corruption of the Gaelic word, *Dun*, signifying a hill. The old village consisted of a broad street, with a row of humble houses on each side, running directly east from the church. This building was erected in 1813, and has a turreted steeple, about 75 feet in height, which was raised by voluntary subscription. The parish was originally a part of that of Falkirk, from which it was separated in 1618. The rector of the latter town had a vicar here; who, besides the small tithes, held a valuable glebe of 28 acres, but which was, in some way, secured, by the last vicar, Oswald, to his family connections. The property continued in the same name until the death, about sixty years ago, of James Oswald of Dryborough—a place adjacent to Denny.

Few manufacturing towns enjoy such advantages of situation as this. Its command of water power is great; and the railway, which was opened in 1859, is a branch of the "Caledonian," joining the main line at Larbert. On the margin of the Carron, there are a considerable number of public works, such as paper and dyewood

mills; chemical works, for the manufacture of pyrolignous acid, and its compounds; a distillery, and several coal and iron mines. Some twenty-five years ago, a printfield of national note existed in the neighbourhood, and gave employment to several hundreds of girls; but the establishment, with all its mass of masonry and splendid machinery, is now a total wreck. Such an unhappy collapse threatened at one time to prove the ruin of the district, having thrown the great bulk of the people out of work. But the little town is again in a thoroughly thriving state. Branches of several leading banks have been opened under promising auspices; and, to judge from outward appearances, have something of the certainty of doing a large and permanent stroke of business.

There are no accounts of the parochial population previous to 1755. In that year, it amounted to 1,392; in 1790, to 1,400; in 1800, to 1,967; in 1821, to 3,364; in 1831, to 3,843; in 1838, to 4,300; and in 1871, to 4,993—the town itself containing 3,623 inhabitants.

The surface of the country is diversified by heights and hollows. The Darrach Hill (Hill of Oaks), which is the principal feature of the parish, forms its western boundary. Myothill lies in the upper division, called Temple Denny—a tract of land which formerly belonged, it is said, to the Knights-Templars, so famous for their crusades against the Saracens. This hill is of

conical shape, comparatively small, but very beautiful.

Banknock, which has been possessed and occupied by Mr. William Wilson for the last forty years, is a really sweet estate of the smaller sort, and has the highest point from sea to sea in the valley. Here, Rosa Bonheur, the great animal painter, was entertained when she visited the Tryst at Stenhousemuir in 1856. The famous artists, M'Leish and Goodall, were also of the distinguished party. Mr. Wilson, who is well known as a liberal patron and intelligent *connoiseur* of art, and also as a leading antiquary, owns a very valuable collection of pictures by painters of note; and, on the same walls, it is pleasing to see that the talent, with pencil and brush, is cleverly represented by his accomplished daughter.

Bonnybridge is another district which, within the last few years, has taken a position of considerable importance. Its population in 1871 was 730. Here we have, first of all, the Columbian Stove Works of Messrs. Smith & Wellstood. This firm—originally Messrs. Ure & Co.—who started the manufactory, with Mr. George Ure as managing partner, in April, 1860, are widely known for the superior quality of their apparatus. At the Society of Arts competition in London, which extended over the year 1874, and to which all the eminent makers of stoves and ranges came forward, Messrs. Smith & Wellstood took the first place

for efficiency of workmanship, and construction for economy in fuel. The firm also do their own copper and brass work here, giving employment in all to about 250 hands. Immediately adjoining this establishment, and as a former part of it, we have the foundry of Messrs. George Ure & Co., where upwards of 400 men and boys are engaged in the making of light castings for sewing machines and other iron goods, both of an ornamental and purely useful character. Messrs. Campbell, Ferguson & Co. have also works, about a mile south towards Bonnymuir, which were started in July, 1877, for the manufacture of all kinds of malleable iron castings; and they, too, promise to have a rapid extension of business.

At the west-end of the village there is a parish church, seated for over 600 persons; and specially to Mr. George Ure of Wheatlands is the erection of this recent building due. The hamlet, in addition to an excellent public school, also possesses a commodious literary hall, containing a library with upwards of 400 volumes, apart from the monthly periodicals and daily newspapers. The other industries of the place are a corn-mill, saw-mill, paper-mill, distillery, and smithy.

CHAPTER XXII.

WESTQUARTER, CALLENDAR, AND CAMELON.

WESTQUARTER Estate, by far the most picturesque of local pleasure-grounds, extends to 300 acres. The founder of the Livingstone family, in the male line, was the Hon. Sir George Livingstone of Ogleface, who was created a baronet on the 30th May, 1625. Sir George, being popular at the court of James VI., was appointed his Majesty's Justiciary for the trial of various crimes, including that of witchcraft. He was one of the adventurers for the plantation of forfeited estates in Ireland, and in 1608 received a grant of 2,000 acres in the county of Armagh, where he died prior to June, 1628.

The mansion, which is of considerable size, circularly built, with steep slated roofs and notched gables, is not unlike, in extent and character, the chief *chateaux* of Normandy and Brittany. On the walls of the southern and more modern portion of the building are the dates 1626 and 1648, but the original edifice is much older. The house contains some ancient

arms, skull-caps, coats of mail, and several stern-looking pictures of the old barons. The garden, though nothing beyond ordinary in its floral character, possesses various interesting memorials of the past; and the ground itself, part of a fine esker, is somewhat artistically laid out. A verdant knoll, crowned with a tree-shaded summer-seat, runs along its centre from east to west, and which was proudly called "my quarter-deck" by the late Sir Thomas Livingstone, as he Jack-like strutted from stem to stern of the close-cut sward. Built into the garden wall are a few historical and family stones. One of these was brought from Kilsyth, and bears the following inscription around a coat of arms:—"Dom. Wilem. Levingstone, De Kilsay, Baro. Aqves. Avrat. Et-Doma. Antonia. De Bord." Underneath is the motto, "Spe Exspecto." A similar sort of stone was some years ago taken from the front of Callendar house, and has also a place here. Its laconic story is, "Et Domi, Et Foris, 1641." Then in the wall facing the west we have a keystone from the aisle of the old church of Falkirk, together with a barley-stone from the ruins of Linlithgow palace.

But the great charm of Westquarter is its lovely glen, situated immediately west of the garden. The chief cascades are the "Lanton Linn" and the "Lady's Linn;" and although these falls but rarely display themselves with the

fury common to the "torture-riven chasm," there is still a grandeur in the leap of the brawling burn over the rifted rocks, and in the hollow rumble of its waters within the foaming gorge. Spanning the swirling stream at scenic points which only a gardener with a soul above the soup-pot could have selected, are a couple of rustic bridges constructed of natural larch; and from these elevated platforms a glorious view is got of the thickly-wooded dell, where, in the very heart of brushwood and brackens, the lover of ferns may find himself in an earthly paradise. Strange that William Gilpin the well-known writer on the picturesque, who did so much to create and foster a taste for the beautiful in nature, could see in ferns nothing but noxious weeds, and rank them with "thorns and briars, and other ditch trumpery." The gracefulness even of the waving bracken lends an additional charm to sylvan dells. And what could be more in harmony with the character and peculiar exigencies of Gothic design than the delicate tracery and exquisite filigree of the fern leaves and fronds? Yet we seldom find them employed. The study and cultivation of ferns, however, is essentially of modern and even recent growth. The poets and artists of the last century knew nothing of them. Their rehabilitation seems to have been primarily due to Sir Walter Scott; and they may be said to have come into fashion with oak furni-

ture, ancient armour, and the revival of mediæval-sm in general. Scott looked upon them with the eye of a forester and a poet, and pleads their cause in that charming little pastoral, the "Essay upon Planting."

From several points of the winding foot-path, which, with commanding advantages, overlooks the glen, we get an excellent view of the famous esker that extends from Callendar eastward by Westquarter and Meadowbank to Gilston. We must be satisfied to know little about many of these alluvial relics; still there can be no doubt that this bank is simply a vast field of stratified sand which had been washed up by marine action when the extensive plain intervening between our present position and the Firth was completely under water.

Millfield, now the property of Mr. Thomas H. Campbell, is another pretty estate. Its adornment, indeed, has for years been a matter of special study; and the late proprietor, Mr. Miller, C.E., who was engineer of the old E. & G. railway, opened in 1842, was certainly most successful in making it an altogether pleasant spot. To the south of the house, which scarcely exceeds the proportions of an ordinary villa, there is a sweetly picturesque dale; and, although to a great extent artificial, still, with its bubbling water-course and other rustic auxiliaries, it most effectually enlivens the grounds. Amongst other

estates throughout the district are Lethallan, Tarduff, Vellore, and Parkhall.

Polmont ("pool of the moor") which had its parish from Falkirk in 1724, is, as times go, an altogether unimportant place. According to the Reformation chroniclers, it consisted originally, for the most part, of church lands. The old kirk of the village stands in the centre of the burial-ground, with ivy-draped ruins and simple belfry. A clear passage runs through the building from east to west; while the interior is filled with a fine assortment of rose plants, yews, and rhododendrons. The new church, which was erected in 1844, has been founded on sand unfortunately, and the key-stone of one of the principal windows has already fallen an inch or so.

Few public roads are so richly wooded as that in front of the Callendar estate. For well-nigh half a mile, the wedded muster of trees, magnificent in limb and foliage, meet overtop, and form one of the finest of arcadian highways. The majority of these ancestral beeches were planted by Sir James Livingstone of Brighouse, the first Earl of Callendar, and consequently must have seen over two centuries of sunshine and storm.

The Callendar property, which embraces about 400 Scotch acres, 200 being now covered with wood, was originally a grant by Alexander II. to Malcolm de Callenter. Forfeited, however, in the reign of David II. by one Patrick de Callentyr,

for his allegiance to Baliol, the lands were subsequently bestowed upon his son-in-law, Sir William Livingstone; and in the possession of that family they remained for several successive generations. Of the chief historical families of Scotland few have experienced more of the "ups and downs" of life than the Livingstones. During the days of their feudal power, they were not more remarkable for the extent of their estates, and their almost regal influence, than for the great alliances which they formed; but, on the other hand, few such families have fallen into more complete and disastrous decay. There is not now a single landed proprietor of the name either in the counties of Stirling or Linlithgow, where they were once so powerful. Their principal residences were the castles of Callendar, Herbertshire, Brighouse, Haining, and Midhope. Of these, the largest and most important appears to have been the castle of Callendar—a place of considerable strength before artillery was invented. According to Nisbet, and others whom he quotes in his *Heraldry*, the fortress was built by a Roman, whose office it was to provide fuel for the camp, and who called it after his own name, *Calloner*, from *Calo*, a faggot or log of wood. Pinkerton, however, is of opinion that the name may be with more likelihood derived from *kelydhon*, which in Cumraig signifies woodlands. At any rate, according to the Dane, Van Basson, the author of

a treatise on armories, such was the ancient manner of spelling the name; and in reference to its origin, the chiefs of the family, when arms came into use, adopted the six billets which still form part of the escutcheon of Callendar. But others allege that the billets represent sheets or scrolls of paper, because the heads of the family of that ilk were comptrollers, or clerks, to the kings of Scotland for several centuries.

In 1634, the barony of Callendar was acquired by James, Lord Almond and Falkirk, afterwards Earl of Callendar; and in 1637, he became proprietor of the barony of Falkirk. In 1646, the same nobleman obtained a charter from Charles I. erecting his whole estates into a regality, and the town into a free burgh. George, fourth Earl of Linlithgow, died in August, 1695, without issue, when he was succeeded in his titles and estates by his nephew, James, fourth Earl of Callendar, who, engaging in the rebellion of 1715, was attainted as Earl of Linlithgow and Callendar, and his whole lands and dignities forfeited to the crown. In 1720, the entire property was purchased by the York Buildings Company, a London corporation which speculated largely in the purchase of forfeited estates; but the "bairns of Falkirk," as these natives delighted to style themselves, and the other vassals and tenants of the Livingstones, were, even under their feudal lords, little inclined to yield "suit and service," and far

less to pay rents to an association of London tradesmen. The company soon discovered that the only mode of deriving anything from the estate was to transfer it to the heiress of the family, and a long lease was accordingly granted to the Earl and Countess of Kilmarnock, who were thus re-established at Callendar, and might, like the Panmure family, under somewhat similar circumstances, have eventually recovered permanent possession of their original domains. This lease did not expire till 1773; but long before that, the earl, not taught wisdom by the ruin of his predecessor, joined Charles Edward after the battle of Prestonpans; was captured on the field of Culloden, and sent a prisoner to London, where he was beheaded, on Tower Hill, in 1746. To an eminence, above Callendar house, now crowned by a circular plantation, tradition points as the spot where the earl, as he rode away to join the unfortunate chevalier, lingered behind his armed followers; and, turning his horse round, took a parting look at the grand old Livingstone estate which he was never to see again.

The affairs of the York Buildings Company having fallen into disorder, the Callendar property was brought to a judicial sale in 1783, and purchased by Mr. William Forbes of London, who was a descendant of the family of Forbes of Colquhany, in Aberdeenshire. The coppersmith, into whose hands the estate thus passed, was

most fortunate in his purchase. The sum paid for it was only £85,000; and it has been alleged that the timber alone on the grounds was worth double the money. But Mr. Forbes, from his first outset in business, seems to have been one of Fortune's favourites—to have had rare opportunities of kicking her golden ball. It was, without doubt, his speculation in copper, when the idea of so sheathing the ships of the Line first occurred to Government, that put a substantial backbone to his purse; and for upwards of twenty years he held exclusively the trade of coppering the royal fleet, and the East India Company's vessels. His capital of £1,600, with Admiral Byron as one of his generous securities, was thus soon turned to good account. With Callendar and its tenants he had, however, for a time, many a stiff battle to fight. The estate, for the most part, was lamentably moorish, and the farmers proved difficult to deal with. An amusing story is told of a dispute that took place between Mr. Forbes and the Rev. Mr. Bertram of Muiravonside, regarding the rent of a park attached to Haining castle. The minister was one day invited to dine at Callendar, and after dinner the adjustment of the rent was brought above-board. Bertram, who from all accounts was the reverse of a ready logician, had ultimately to yield to the clear and practical reasoning of the laird; but, out of petty revenge,

preached for several Sundays from the text, "Alexander the coppersmith has done me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works."

Mr. Forbes was twice married—first to Miss Macadam of Craigengillian, who died without issue. The second marriage was with Miss Agnes Chalmers of Aberdeenshire, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. His eldest son, William, who succeeded to the entailed property, married Lady Louisa, daughter of the Earl of Wemyss and March, and was member of parliament for his native county over a considerable period. This latter couple were the parents of the present laird, who, in addition to the ancient thanedom of Callendar, and the baronies of Haining and Almond, is proprietor of other extensive estates in the counties of Stirling, Ayr, and Kirkcudbright.

The ancestral mansion, which lies in a grand lyceum, is interesting chiefly from its historical associations. Certain portions of the house are very ancient, carrying one far back into the past, and around these cling not a few reminiscences and traditions of the olden times. The room, for example, is still shown where the ill-fated Queen Mary slept, when she visited Callendar on the occasion of a baptism in the family of the Earl of Linlithgow. Another apartment is pointed out as the bedroom occupied by Prince

Charles on the night of the 15th September, 1745. General Monk, too, made Callendar house his home during the stay of his troops in Scotland. And Cromwell—he who stands a giant among the pigmy race of the Stuarts—on an unlucky day for King Charles, advanced with a small force upon the "castle"; and, after a siege of short duration, took possession of stronghold and estate, mowing down in slaughter the gallant garrison and volunteers, who, in the absence of the royal army, snugly settled in the Torwood, were left as a fearless file of defence. Here the Protector seems to have shown no mercy to the weak numerically, in their brave defiance of his aggressive step; for the lawn is said to have been everywhere covered with the bodies of the slain. But be it a glorious victory, or a glorious grave, the most valiant have the best fortune in battle. The coward runs a hundred risks that the brave man escapes. Only in courage are honour and safety. Be the first to close with the foe, "shield on shield, spear on spear, knee to knee." Never wait to be attacked. Simple ideas like these, in the clarion tones of Tyrtœus, still stir the pulse of warlike blood. The maunderings of our magazine minstrels only awaken laughter and the sense of shame. In Cromwell's days, Callendar house was surrounded by a deep fosse, and further protected by a square projection of stone, whose niches were filled with

a variety of statues. The lawn outside of this, for some few yards, was broken by a species of wall known as the "barbican."

In front of the mansion are five splendid limes. But timber, as we have already hinted, grows here to perfection. Even St. Gingolphe could scarcely match many of the grand old trees which arch the beautiful basin that runs out from the house towards the public road. A magnificent arcade of planes also lies to the east, conducting to a lochlet full of aquatic vegetation. And now we enter the deeper forest glades.

> "We hear the wind among the trees,
> Playing celestial symphonies;
> We see the branches downward bent,
> Like keys of some great instrument."

In one of the leafiest of those arborial porticoes stands the mausoleum of the Forbes family. It is circular, 45 feet high, with a rustic cell 19 feet in height and 36 in diameter, on which stand twelve fluted Doric columns, which, with the capital, are 19½ feet high. Over a Doric entablature rises what within is a dome, and without is covered with a stone tiling and rib-mouldings. Over the door, in the north side of the cell, is a Greek inscription.

ΘΝΗΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΝΗΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΡΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ ΗΜΑΣΗΝ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΑΛΛ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΑΤΤΑ ΠΑΡΕΡΧΟΜΕΘΑ.

The following are two translations, by different scholars:—

"All things we mortals call our own
Are mortal too, and quickly flown;
But, could they all for ever stay,
We soon from them must pass away."

"All objects linked with mortal man decay,
And earthly scenes, like visions, fleet away.
On things so frail how vain to fix the heart,
Since we from them, or they from us, must part!"

The latest buried was the young and queenly wife of the present laird—a Miss O'Hara in maidenhood, born of an ancient and honourable family in the West of Ireland, and married to Mr. Forbes on the 23rd June, 1859. The deceased lady died in Dublin; and when the sad news of her death reached Falkirk, a general sorrow prevailed over the district, her short connection with Callendar having been such as to render her memory dear to all classes of the community.

Camelon is a sleepy old-fashioned looking place. Here lies the rural burial-field for Falkirk and its neighbourhood. And, sanitary considerations apart, it is well that country cemeteries have been brought into fashion. Formerly, families visiting the graves of the dead they had buried out of their sight, could enjoy little of that peaceful seclusion which the bereaved mourner covets above everything. Nothing surely could have been more trying than having to ask the beadle for the key of the churchyard gate every time they came

to pay a visit; or having to make their way to the grave in the populous ground, with crowds staring in through the railings from the thoroughfares. The cemetery, which extends to 11 acres, was acquired by the Parochial Board at a cost of about £8,000—a sum which is being repaid by the selling of permanent ground. The main entrance was given gratuitously by the Misses Baird, of Camelon, and presents a broad carriage approach leading from the street to the lodge—a handsome little building treated in the modern Elizabethan style. Fortunate in possessing a fine situation, and having been tastefully planned and planted, the cemetery forms a rather notable feature in the view from the north.

A more wretched-looking village than Camelon, not many years ago, could not be imagined. Everywhere over it hung the air of squalid misery and mire. But Mr. Ralph Stark, together with other philanthropic gentlemen, have of late deeply interested themselves in its sanitary improvement and the social elevation of its inhabitants. Through their exertions chiefly, a savings bank was opened in 1867; and the scene presented on a Saturday night, by the crowd of children running proudly with their books and pennies to the bank, is a most interesting one. On an average, the money deposited in one hundred transactions will amount to six pounds, several of the adult members lodging, of course, the maximum sum

of five shillings. The penny bank is thus proving a greater success than was anticipated even by its most sanguine promoters; and viewed simply as a moral training for the people, it is without question an admirable enterprise. "Pit ye in aye the ither stick, Jock," said the careful old Laird of Dumbiedykes to his son; "it'll grow when ye're sleeping."

END OF VOLUME I.

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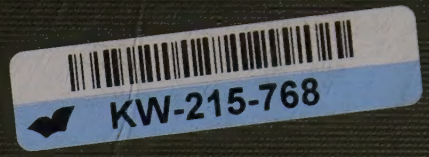
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